486. Knox v.2



GENERAL WOOLFE.

AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS in NORTH-AMERICA,

FOR

The YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760:

CONTAINING

The Moſt REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES of that PERIOD;

PARTICULARLY

The Two SIEGES of QUEBEC, &c. &c.

THE

ORDERS of the ADMIRALS and GENERAL OFFICERS;

Deſcriptions of the Countries where the AUTHOR has ſerved, with their Forts and Garriſons; their Climates, Soil, Produce;

AND

A REGULAR DIARY of the WEATHER.

AS ALSO

Several MANIFESTO's, a MANDATE of the late BISHOP of CANADA;
The FRENCH ORDERS and DISPOSITION for the Defence of the Colony, &c. &c. &c.

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION

To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

Ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

VOL II.

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M DCC LXIX.

AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS in NORTH-AMERICA,

For the YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760, &c. &c.

THE reader will be pleaſed to remember I ended, in the preceding volume, the operations of the army before Quebec, on the 31ſt of July, upon their being repulſed in the attempt that was made on the enemy's intrenchments; in conſequence of which, the General was pleaſed to iſſue out the following orders:

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

1759. Auguſt. 1ſt. "The check, which the grenadiers met with yeſterday, will, "it is hoped, be a leſſon to them for the time to come; ſuch "*impetuous*, *irregular*, and *unſoldierlike* proceedings deſtroy all "order, make it impoſſible for their Commanders to form any diſ- "poſition for an attack, and put it out of the General's power to "execute his plan. The grenadiers could not ſuppoſe, that they "alone could beat the French army, and therefore it was neceſſary,

1759. August. "that the corps under Brigadier Monckton and Brigadier Townshend should have time to join, that the attack might be general; the very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline; Amherst's and the Highland regiments * alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beat back the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to attack them. The loss, however, is inconsiderable, and may be easily repaired, when a favourable opportunity offers, if the men will shew a proper attention to their Officers. The grenadiers of Louisbourg are to remain on the Isle of Orleans till farther orders; Lieutenant-Colonel Murray is to command in that island. The companies of grenadiers of the battalions incamped at Montmorencie are to join their regiments, and those belonging to the regiments of Brigadier Monckton's corps are likewise to join their regiments; the Highlanders are to return to their camp, and Lawrence's grenadiers to join their regiment at Montmorencie. After this day the men are to begin work at six in the morning, except on particular occasions, and continue till ten; then cease till two, or, perhaps, three o'clock, in case of excessive heat, and work till six or seven. The troops to receive provisions to-morrow, to the fifth inclusive, &c. &c."

Some of the enemy's boats attempted to pass down to the ruins of our late armed transports, but, receiving a very uncivil salute from the battery eastward of the fall, as also from the Point of Orleans, they were obliged to sheer off. Two soldiers of the forty-third regiment were wounded in their camp by accident.

* Major P. Æ. Irving was at the head of Amherst's regiment; Colonel Fraser being confined by a wound he had a received before that day, I cannot recollect who was then at the head of his Highlanders: the reader may remember that these corps were commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and were part of his brigade from the Point de Levi.

A Serjeant has deſerted this day from one of the regiments in the north camp, and has taken the company's orderly book with him. Fine weather, after a heavy night of rain, thunder, and lightning. Wind freſh at W. S. W. Briſk firing on the town this evening. 1759. Auguſt.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

" Every regiment and corps is to ſend a return to the Adjutant- 2d.
" General, the day after to-morrow, of their Officers, non-commiſ-
" ſioned Officers, and private men that have been killed and wounded
" in the courſe of the campaign, to the laſt day of July incluſive,
" ſpecifying, as far as they can learn, the day, or night, and
" place, where it happened, and on what occaſion; for the time
" to come, reports of any loſs are to be made as ſoon as poſſible."

The enemy appear much elated at our miſcarriage on the 31ſt *, —and have theſe two days hoiſted ſeveral white flags on their intrenchments; they are now very aſſiduouſly employed, endeavouring to render their works ſtill more inacceſſible. We bombarded the town with great ſpirit laſt night. The troops, on this ſide, begin to grow ſickly, particularly the marines, who are therefore ordered to remove to the weſtward of the church, where they have room enough to render their camp more open and airy; the diſorders prevailing among the men are fluxes and fevers, ſuch as troops are uſually ſubject to in the field. Admiral Holmes has ſent down to acquaint the General, that ſeveral detachments of the enemy have croſſed

* Captain St. Felix, of the regiment de la Sarre, told me, that his Generals had not, until that day, any great dependence on the proweſs of the Canadians; for they intermixed them with their regulars, and gave the latter public orders to ſhoot any of them that ſhould betray the leaſt timidity: however they behaved with ſo much ſteadineſs throughout the whole cannonading, and, upon the approach of our troops up the precipice, fired with ſuch great regularity, that they merited the higheſt applauſe and confidence from their Superiors.

1759. August. from the north to this ſide of the river. A flag of truce came down in the evening. At night a number of Howitzers, that have been ranged for ſome time paſt in the front of the left of our camp, were drawn down to the Point and reimbarked. A deſerter from the enemy ſays, " that Monſieur de Levi, at the head of three thouſand men, will ſoon ſtrike a bold coup at our batteries."

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

3d. " As the government has provided good ſtore of rum for the " men, half a jill may be delivered out regularly every day, and " a jill when the weather is wet and cold, or when the men are " much fatigued with work or duty. The ground within the " three redoubts that are in the front of the line of battle is to be " kept as clear as poſſible from huts, and other obſtacles, that " might hinder the movement of the troops. All horſes that can " be collected, or may hereafter be driven in by our parties, are " to be carried over to the Iſle of Orleans, and turned to graze in the " meadows oppoſite to the north camp: cattle that are taken muſt " be likewiſe carried over to that iſland, for the uſe of the ſick " and wounded ſoldiers."

The intention of yeſterday's flag of truce was to acquaint the General that they had given decent burial to all the men who were killed on the 31ſt, and to ſome of the wounded who are ſince dead: that a Captain and ſeveral others who are in their hands ſhall be taken good care of, in order to be exchanged, when they are recovered. Part of the town was in flames early this morning, but was ſoon extinguiſhed; we continue to bombard and cannonade it vigorouſly, though we have ſeldom any return from the enemy. Ships are arrived with ſtores and proviſions for our fleet and army: it is now aſſerted, that we are to be reinforced by

troops

troops from the Weſt-Indies. A deſerter has ſurrendered this morning to one of our frigates at Coudre; he reports, that General Amherſt has been very ſucceſsful on the ſide of the Carillon, and has ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties with little or no loſs. The parole this day is Coudre, and the counterſign is Carillon. A detachment of one Captain, three Subalterns, and ſeventy rank and file are ordered to parade to-morrow evening at four o'clock. The privates are to be volunteers, they being, as it is ſaid, intended for a particular ſervice. Dalling's light infantry are in readineſs to go on a ſcout this night. 1759. Auguſt.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

4th. "The ſix companies of grenadiers are to be under arms at ſix "o'clock this afternoon in the front of their camp. When a "deſerter comes in from the enemy, the Officer commanding the "guard or party who takes him up is immediately to ſend him to "the head quarters, and not permit him to be examined, or any "queſtions aſked him by any perſon whatſoever, until he is preſented "to the General."

Brigadier Murray, with a ſtrong detachment, are under orders to proceed on board of Admiral Holmes's diviſion, to make a diverſion above the town, with a view to divide the enemy's attention; we are inclined to hope the General's ſchemes may ſtill be productive of ſome great event; the harveſt muſt be reaped, or a famine is inevitable: and, if the Canadians ſhould diſperſe for that purpoſe, and General Amherſt ſhould be inabled to advance farther into the province, and thereby compel Monſieur Montcalm, to draw off ſome of his forces hence to the ſide of Montreal, we may yet have it in our power to give a ſatisfactory account of the capital of Canada. Our fire againſt the town has been very heavy theſe laſt twenty-four hours; the light infantry returned this

1759. Auguſt. this afternoon with a great ſtock of cattle, and other plunder, among which was a library, ſaid to be the property of a prieſt. A flag of truce came down to-day, and another was ſent up from us. Some detachments on this ſide, who are to accompany Brigadier Murray to the upper country, paraded this evening, marched into the woods, and performed ſeveral manœuvres which were ſhewed them, in caſe of being attacked in front, rear, right, or left. At night General Wolfe, amuſed the enemy by making a feint to croſs the ford by the fall, whereupon they beat to arms, and lined their intrenchments; which as ſoon as he perceived, he gave them a formidable fire from all his cannon and howitzers on the hill.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

5th. "A Subaltern, and twenty men of the company of marines, on "the right, are to relieve the party of marines at the lower "battery this evening: the two companies are to take this duty "alternately; the company on the left is always to give the Serjeant "and nine for the Point: in caſe of an alarm, the Officer command- "ing the party of twenty is to retire to the redoubt above the "battery, leaving ſuch a number with the artillery Officer as he "may want; the proviſion guard, in that caſe, is alſo to retire to "the redoubt juſt above the proviſions."

The purport of the laſt flag of truce was to deſire that the bedding, linen, and neceſſaries of Captain Ouchterlony, of the Royal Americans, who lies dangerouſly wounded in the enemy's hands, may be tranſmitted to him: and that, if he ſhould not recover, they will be taken due care of, &c. Scarce a day paſſes but we hear of ſome brilliant coup, which the French intend to ſtrike at one or other of our three incampments: now we are told by deſerters, that they will wait until General Wolfe is obliged to draw his troops from the north camp, — then fall on

on him with their whole force, and cut the flower of his army to pieces. — An attempt to this effect would afford his Excellency the higheſt ſatisfaction, as he might then hope to bring them to a regular action, what he ſeems moſt to wiſh for. We are changing our guns at the batteries from thirty-two to twenty-four pounders, and our mortars from thirteen to ten inches; theſe being deemed ſufficient to keep the town in ruin. Wet weather this evening; as ſoon as it was dark, the fifteenth regiment, with three hundred Royal Americans, two hundred marines, and the like number of light infantry, under Brigadier Murray, marched up to Goreham's poſt; an Officer and twenty volunteer rangers accompanied them, they being intended for a particular ſervice. One Subaltern, one Serjeant, and thirteen rank and file, all likewiſe volunteers, are ordered to be in readineſs at a moment's warning. 1759. Auguſt.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"Laſcelles's regiment marches this night towards the village of "Ange Gardien; the light infantry that are not upon duty, and "that part of Anſtruther's off duty, formed in the order they were "the laſt time they were under arms, are to march, to-morrow "morning at ſix o'clock, two or three miles to the right, into "the woods that are above the cultivated country; three ſmall "parties of rangers are to lead the files." 6th.

Twenty of our flat-bottomed boats went up laſt night with the tide of flood, rowed by the enemy's batteries, and paſſed the town: the garriſon did not diſcover them until they got almoſt clear, and then they diſcharged three guns and one mortar, which we think was a ſignal of alarm; for their Drummers in the town and camp inſtantly beat to arms, and continued to do ſo

1759. August. ſo near an hour and an half; by this we are inclined to believe they apprehended a ſtorm. Our batteries, who have now an unlimited credit for every ſpecies of ammunition, fired ſo quick and ſo regular, while the boats were paſſing, as to reſemble platoons; the weather being wet, and the night dark, favoured our intentions: the boats are for the ſervice of the troops under Brigadier Murray, whoſe object is to deſtroy a large magazine of flour, corn, and ſtores, which the enemy are ſaid to have, a few leagues above the town: alſo to endeavour, in concert with Admiral Holmes, to deſtroy the French ſhips, if they can get at them, and thereby open a communication with General Amherſt; for this purpoſe, in caſe we ſucceed, Lieutenant Crofton and twenty rangers, who are all volunteers, are to be detached expreſs. A farther object of the Brigadier's is to draw ſuch parties of the enemy as he may meet with to action, and thereby divide the attention of their army below the town. Our weather now extremely ſultry. A French regular deſerted to-day, and ſurrendered to the troops in the north camp. This morning I was an eye-witneſs to the ceremony of burying a ſailor alive, *mirabile dictu*, for the cure of the ſea ſcurvy. To explain this matter it muſt be obſerved, that a pit was made in the ground, and the patient ſtood in it, with his head only above the level of the earth; then the mold was thrown in looſe about him, and there he remained for ſome hours: this I am told is to be repeated every day, until his recovery is perfected; the poor fellow ſeemed to be in good ſpirits, laughed and converſed with the ſpectators who were about him *.

* This remedy for that inveterate diſorder is an ancient diſcovery, firſt revived by Lord Anſon in his famous voyage into the South Seas, and practiſed by his Lordſhip on the iſland of Finian, where our Admiral had ocular experience of its great efficacy: it is called by phyſicians an Earth-bath, and is deemed ſalutary in various other caſes, as well as ſcorbutic complaints; a device, whilſt it is thus attempted to preſerve life, is adapted to a very different uſe in Ruſſia; for a woman who compaſſes the death of her huſband is puniſhed by being in like manner interred up to her neck, and is there ſhockingly doomed to languiſh and die of hunger.

The

1759. August.

The detachment of ſeventy, with Officers in proportion, who were ordered in readineſs on the 3d inſtant, were this day countermanded. The party of one Subaltern, Serjeant, and thirteen rank and file, volunteers, ordered yeſterday to be in readineſs, were joined to-day by the like number from all the regiments in this and the north camps, commanded by Captain Goreham; and, accompanied by his rangers, embarked this day, and ſailed down the river; their deſtination is to St. Paul's bay, near Coudre, with orders to lay waſte that pariſh and circumjacent country, for the preſumption of the inhabitants in firing at our men of wars' ſounding boats, and at a boatful of the 15th regiment, as we firſt worked up the river. One of our frigates, ſeeing ſome floating batteries coming down, edged over to the north ſhore, and engaged them: the floats were ſupported by the batteries on the high ground above the Point de Leſt, and Mr. Wolfe ſuſtained the frigate from the eaſtern eminences; whereupon a general cannonading enſued, which laſted an hour and an half; the enemy were ſilenced, one of their floats was knocked to pieces, one eſcaped up to the town, and two were forced on ſhore; an old mortar was brought down to annoy the frigate, but ſhe boldly rode it out, firing and contemning the worſt they could do. The enemy take the benefit of the flags of truce paſſing and repaſſing, to repair their works, and erect new batteries; they are now making an epaulement to their great Barbet Battery next the baſon. Smart firing on the town this night, which is faintly returned; the wind right-a-head of our fleet.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

1759. Auguſt 7th. "The commanding Officers of regiments and corps are to "order all the tools that are in and about their reſpective incamp- "ments to be carefully collected together, that whatever number "they may have, over and above what they were firſt ordered to "receive for each regiment, may be immediately ſent to the ar- "tillery. Whatever ſoldier is ſeen drunk, is to be ſtruck off the "roll of thoſe who receive rum; this order is repeated, and will "be more ſtrictly complied with for the future."

No alteration in wind or weather. Some ſailors and marines ſtrayed to-day into the country, contrary to repeated orders, to ſeek for vegetables: they were fired upon by a party of the enemy, and three were killed and ſcalped; the remainder, being ten in number, made their eſcape; two of them, however, were ſlightly wounded. Three Indians ſhewed themſelves to the weſtward of our batteries, and ſet up a war-ſhout; whereupon an Officer and thirty rangers, being detached to that quarter, ſcoured the environs for ſeveral miles, without making any diſcovery. All is quiet to-day between our batteries and the town. We eſteem ourſelves very happy in this country, having no fogs as in Nova Scotia, nor are we tormented with muſketa's: we have myriads of the common black window fly, which, though they have no ſting, are nevertheleſs troubleſome in tainting our victuals. We are now tolerably well provided with the conveniencies of life; at times butchers' meat is ſcarce, but that is ſupplied by young horſe-fleſh; a loin of a colt eats well roaſted, and there are many other parts of the carcaſe, which, if diſ- guiſed in the ſame manner that one meets with other victuals at table, may deceive the niceſt palate. I ſhall here annex the prices of the ſeveral under-mentioned articles, which only vary as there is plenty or otherwiſe.

Beef,

Beef, from nine pence to one ſhilling per pound.
Mutton, from one ſhilling to one ſhilling and three pence per pound.
Hams, from nine pence to one ſhilling per pound.
Salt butter, from eight pence to one ſhilling and three pence per pound.
Glouceſter or Cheſhire cheeſe, ten pence per pound.
Potatoes, from five to ten ſhillings per buſhel.
A reaſonable loaf, of good ſoft bread, ſix pence.
Briſtol Beer, eighteen ſhillings per dozen, bottles included, (theſe were uſeleſs.)
London porter, one ſhilling per quart.
Bad malt drink from Halifax, at nine pence per quart.
Cyder, New England, from ſix to eight pence per quart.
Bad ſpruce beer, two pence per quart.
Weſt-India rum, eight ſhillings per gallon.
New England rum, from ſix to ten ſhilſhillings per gallon.
Sour claret, eight ſhillings per gallon. 1759. Auguſt.
Excellent Florence, two ſhillings and ſixpence per flaſk.
Madeira, twelve ſhillings per gallon, or eleven pounds per caſk.
Red Port, ten ſhillings per gallon, or eight pounds per quarter caſk.
Lemons from three to ſix ſhillings per dozen.
Lump ſugar, from one ſhilling to one ſhilling and ſix pence per pound.
Ordinary powder ſugar, ten pence per pound.
Hyſon tea, one pound ten ſhillings per pound.
Chouchon, one pound per pound.
Plain green, and very bad, fifteen ſhillings per pound.
Roll tobacco, one ſhilling and ten pence per pound.
Leaf ditto, ten pence per pound.
Snuff, from two ſhillings to three ſhillings per pound bottle.
Hard ſoap, from ten pence to one ſhilling per pound.
N. B. All currency of Nova Scotia.

O R D E R S.

Camp at Montmorencie.

" The piquet on the left is by no means to cut any of the bruſh- 8th.
" wood round their poſt, as has been hitherto practiſed. Thoſe
" regiments and corps that have got hand-barrows from the artil-
" lery are forthwith to return them, as they are much wanted."

A deſerter ſurrendered yeſterday to the north camp; the enemy fired many ſignals laſt night from their batteries, and other works, neareſt to Charles's river; it was apprehended they would have ſent

1759. August. down ſome fire-rafts, as there are many of them floating at the entrance of that river; — the tranſports, traders, and other ſmall craft, fell down a-ſtern of the fleet to be out of danger, and the men of wars' boats were inſtantly ſpread over the baſon, in readineſs to receive and grapple them. Three frigates and two tranſports are to paſs the town with the firſt fair wind, they being for ſome time under orders for that purpoſe. A flag of truce was ſent to the Point de Leſt, with directions to the French General to return an anſwer from the ſame quarter; that for the future no regard will be paid to thoſe that may be ſent from the town, as the enemy take indirect advantages of them. Captain Ouchterlony, who is wounded and a priſoner, had the good fortune to be protected from the ſavages by a French grenadier, to whom it is confidently reported that General Wolfe ſent twenty guineas, as a reward for his humanity: M. Montcalm returned the money, ſaying, 'the man had not 'particularly merited ſuch a gratuity, having done no more than 'his duty, and what he hoped every Frenchman in his army 'would do under the like circumſtances:' — This is an abſurd piece of oſtentation which the enemy greatly affect upon particular occaſions. — Ships are arrived with ſtores and proviſions, under convoy of a frigate, who has brought ſome money for the ſubſiſtence of the army. Two of our twenty-four pounders are diſabled at the batteries, whence we ſtill maintain a briſk fire againſt the town, which appears to be in a moſt ruinous condition. In the evening Mr. Wolfe cannonaded and bombarded the left of the enemy's camp for above an hour; they were erecting ſome traverſes to prevent his enfilading that flank, but were obliged to deſiſt. A drunken Indian, who croſſed the river Montmorencie to-day, was ſurrounded and made priſoner by ſome centinels of the thirty-fifth regiment; he had no other weapon than a ſcalping knife, and has confeſſed that his intention was to ſurpriſe two or three centries, and carry back their ſcalps, in order to recover his credit with Monſieur Montcalm,

Montcalm, who had puniſhed him for ſome miſdemeanor. We are now preparing a quantity of combuſtible materials, which are to be ſent by the firſt opportunity to Admiral Holmes in the upper river. 1759. Auguſt.

O R D E R S.

Camp at Montmorencie.

" The two companies of grenadiers of the Royal American " battalions are to embark in four flat-bottomed boats at ſix o'clock " to-morrow morning, to fall down with the tide, and eſcort the " General as far as St. Joachim; they are to take a day's proviſion " with them. This detachment returns with the flood, and the men " are to aſſiſt the ſeamen in rowing. A detachment of light infan- " try and Bragg's regiment to march early to-morrow morning, " three or four miles into the woods, in the ſame order that An- " ſtruther's marched; this corps is to keep ſomething more to " the left, and then fall down into the country, ſupply themſelves " with peaſe, or other greens, and then return to camp." 9th.

About one o'clock this morning a fire broke out in the lower town, and, by the wind's freſhening, the flames ſpread with great rapidity, and continued burning until ten, by which the greateſt part of that quarter was deſtroyed*: it communicated to one of their batteries, blew up a ſmall magazine or powder-cheſt, burned their platforms and carriages, and diſcharged ſome of their guns. Another fire was perceived to burſt forth in the upper town at the ſame time, which

* The low town, in the center of which ſtood l'egliſe de la Sainte Victoire, was completely deſtroyed by this conflagration; it was occaſionedby one of our ſhells, which forced its way into a vaulted cellar, hitherto deemed bomb-proof, wherein were twenty pipes of brandy, and ſeveral ſmaller caſks of other ſpirituous liquors; this was the richeſt and beſt inhabited part of the whole city, and contained the moſt magnificent houſes, churches and public buildings excepted.

1759. Auguſt. was extinguiſhed in leſs than an hour. Our artillery Officers obſerve, that they can now reach the north ſuburbs, where the Intendant's ſuperb palace is ſituated; and this quarter they hope they ſhall ſoon put on the ſame romantic footing with the reſt. — *A plan was this day ſent over to General Wolfe for a fort, which, it is pretended, will be conſtructed on the iſland of Coudre, to contain fifteen hundred men, who are to garriſon it this winter, in caſe we cannot become maſters of Quebec.* A great ſmoke is perceived this morning on the north ſide, at a diſtance below Orleans: this is ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by Captain Goreham's detachment, who are burning the ſettlements a-breaſt of the iſle of Coudre. When the lower town was in flames early this morning, Mr. Wolfe ordered the piquets and grenadiers to march down to the beach, and make a feint to croſs the ford leading to the point de Leſt; which the enemy perceiving, beat inſtantly to arms, and lined their works; whereupon the General gave them a ſpirited diſcharge from all his cannon and howitzers, and did great execution among them. The batteries of the town have re-aſſumed a little vigour to-day, in dealing their ſhot and ſhells with great profuſion, and to as little purpoſe as heretofore. When the laſt flag of truce came from the enemy, the bearer of it was told, that we were ſurpriſed at their ſilence, and that we took unkind our not hearing from their batteries as often of late as uſual. To which Monſieur replied — 'they had intelligence from our de-'ſerters that they did no execution, and would therefore reſerve their 'ammunition for another occaſion.' He then demanded, why we did not fire as briſkly on the garriſon for ſome time paſt as before? And was anſwered to this effect: — 'We have ſufficiently damaged 'your town already, and we do not chuſe to deſtroy all its build-'ings, as we hope ſoon to be in poſſeſſion of it.'

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

1759. Auguſt 10th. "The Quarter-maſter Serjeant is immediately to ſee all the bad "ſtraw burned in the front of the quarter-guard; and a man of "each tent, under the direction of an Officer, to parade, in order "to cut green corn in the front of the incampment, which is to "be dried, and made uſe of as ſtraw."

General Wolfe, with Colonel Carleton, &c. are gone a few miles down the river, eſcorted by two companies of grenadiers, on a reconnoitring party. A briſk diſcharging of ſmall arms was heard to-day, for near two hours, above the town, which reſembled platoon-firing. Smart cannonading and bombarding between the town and our batteries. Wind right-a-head of our fleet, which prevents the Admiral's reinforcing the ſquadron above. This night, at ten o'clock, we were alarmed by a volley of ſmall arms near our camp: upon immediate inquiry, our centries informed us it was on the river, a-breaſt of the Point; it proved to be a baſe invention called a fire organ, ſent down by the enemy as a bait for ſome of the boats which are moored a-head of our ſhips. This machine was placed in a ſhallop, and conſiſted of a ſquare frame of timber laid on the ſeats, and in which were fixed a number of barrels, reſembling pipes in the ſound-board of an organ, twenty inches in length, loaded up to their muzzles with old nails and ſquare ſlugs of lead and iron, and pointed inwards: there was a groove in the frame for a train of powder, and, when it was ſet adrift, a ſlow match was left burning. A Midſhipman, who was in the headmoſt boat, ſeeing the ſhallop falling down with the current, rowed up till he got along-ſide of it, and then he, with two of his men, jumped into her, when, inſtantly, the fire catched, and diſcharged the pipes

1759. August. among them: the Officer and two men were ſeverely wounded, and, I am told, a man in the boat, that lay cloſe to her, was killed.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

11th. "When any detachment either ſees or hears notice of the enemy, the Commander muſt ſend immediate advice of it to the "General. When the eſcorts that cover the working parties are "poſted, they are to receive the enemy in that ſituation till the "Commander thinks proper to reinforce them or call them off: in "the mean time the working men are to get under arms, and wait "for ſuch orders as the Commanding Officer thinks proper to give. "The General was extremely ſurpriſed to ſee the diſorder that "ſeemed to run through the working party this morning; and "foreſees, that, if a ſtop is not immediately put to ſuch unſoldiery proceedings, they may have very dangerous conſequences. "The men fired this day upon one another, and upon the light "infantry; and were ſcattered in ſuch a manner, that a few reſolute people would eaſily have defeated them; it is therefore ordered and commanded, that, when there is any alarm of this "kind, every ſoldier ſhall remain at his poſt till ordered to march "by the proper Officer: if any man preſumes to detach himſelf, "and leave his platoon, diviſion, or party, the Officer will make an "immediate example of him. — Divine ſervice will be performed "to-morrow morning at half paſt ten, for Bragg's, Monckton's, artillery, light infantry, and rangers; in the afternoon at five, for "Anſtruther's, Otway's, Laſcells's, marines, and Lawrence's grenadiers."

This morning ſome working parties were detached from the troops in the north camp into the woods, to cut faſcines and paliſadoes, with light infantry to cover them. After being ſettled at work,

work, they ſpied a body of Indians creeping towards them; where- 1759. August.
upon they ran in confuſion to their arms, and, without any kind of order, fired impetuouſly at every thing they ſaw, whether friends or enemies; the General, hearing the alarm, flew to their aſſiſtance, leaving orders for an artillery Officer and two ſix-pounders to follow without delay. Upon the appearance of the General, the men recovered themſelves, and vigorouſly attacked the ſavages in front; another body of them attempted to flank our parties, which an Officer ſuſpecting, by an excellent diſpoſition, anticipated their ſcheme, and repulſed them; by this time the field-pieces came up, juſt as the Indians were ſeemingly about to rally; which completely put an end to the affair, and drove the rabble acroſs the river with great loſs; we had about fifteen men wounded, though none killed. Captain Goreham has ſent an expreſs to the General to acquaint him, that he has burned a large ſettlement, and made ſome priſoners; that his rangers met with ſome Canadians dreſſed like Indians, had routed them, and took a few ſcalps. A Serjeant and fourteen of the forty-eighth regiment, being detached to ſcour the environs of an advanced poſt, came up with a party of our rangers, and, not knowing them, as they were on the inſide of a hedge, they fired, which our irregulars, under the like miſtake, returned; but the Officer of the latter, luckily diſcovering their error, called out to the Serjeant to prevent farther miſchief; one ſoldier was killed, and two wounded; the rangers had alſo two men wounded. An expreſs is arrived from Brigadier Murray, the particulars of which have not yet tranſpired. Our batteries fire briſkly on the town to-day, without any return. The wind is at length fair for ſhips to paſs the garriſon, with a fine breeze. A Major, two Captains, ſix Subalterns, and two hundred men of the forty-third regiment, were ordered to embark this evening, with all their camp equipage, on board of the following ſhips: — on board the Leoſtaff frigate, ſixty; Hunter ſloop, forty; Eden and Mary, a tranſport, one hundred: this detachment is intended as a reinforce-

1759. August. ment for Brigadier Murray. Some wretched Canadian families are brought in to-day by our rangers. General Wolfe having lately diſperſed ſome placarts throughout the country, wherein he limited the inhabitants to diſperſe by a certain day, and obſerve a neutrality; ſome of their Chiefs went lately to Monſieur Vandreuil, and to Monſieur Montcalm, to inquire what part to take, when the appointed time ſhould expire? — to which they got for anſwer, 'This is a piece of policy in the Britiſh General; continue to defend your country, as ye have hitherto nobly done; for we have certain intelligence, that their fleet is only victualled at full allowance to the latter end of this month.' — Our batteries, eaſtward on the fall, have again obliged the enemy's floats to remove higher up, being inclined to edge down towards the Point de Leſt. This night at nine o'clock, the Leoſtaff, Hunter, and ſome tranſports, worked upwards, and attempted to paſs the town; but, the tide of flood being almoſt at the height, and the wind failing them, they were obliged to put back: while they were within reach, the enemy bombarded and cannonaded them vigorouſly, which was moſt ſpiritedly returned by our batteries. The Chaplains of the regiments in this camp are very diligent in diſcharging their duty, at every convenient opportunity.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

12th. "A return of the killed and wounded to be given in to-morrow "at orderly time, from the 1ſt to the 11th inſtant, both days "incluſive; a return to be given in at the ſame time of what "ammunition is wanting to complete each regiment and corps. "Proviſions will be delivered to-morrow to the troops to the 17th "incluſive, &c. &c. &c."

This

This morning, at day-break, our weather changed to uncommon heavy rain, which continued ſeveral hours without intermiſſion; the wind is ſtill fair, and blows freſh. A command of Highlanders is to go out this night, to diſtreſs the country. The town and our batteries have been reſpectively complaiſant to-day. By deſerters we are informed, that, a few days after the affair of the 31ſt of July, at the Point de Leſt, the Sieur de Montcalm, in diſcourſe with ſome of the Indian Chiefs, told them, — 'You ſee we beat the 'Engliſh, we drove them away, we conquered them, we defeated, 'them, &c. &c.' to which the ſavages replied, 'Conquered them, 'and defeated them, — we will never believe that, until you drive 'them back to their ſhips; are they not ſtill firing againſt Quebec, 'and are they not as unconcerned in their camps, as if nothing had 'happened?' — This anecdote evinces that, though illiterate, as theſe unhappy people are, they are not deficient in good natural parts, or ſo eaſily to be impoſed upon, as ſome travellers inſinuate. At night our weather cleared up, and the wind came right a-head; the detachment intended to reinforce Brigadier Murray ſtill remain on board of the ſhips. 1759. Auguſt.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The General has ordered five guineas to be given to the "centries of Otway's, for taking an Indian alive; whoſe buſineſs "was to ſurpriſe ſome negligent centinel, and aſſaſſinate him. "When a ſmall party of volunteers of any regiment are inclined "to lay wait, during the night, for the ſmall reconnoitring parties, "which the enemy may puſh towards the camp, the General will "give them leave to try it; and, if any ſoldier kills an Indian, or "takes him alive, which is ſtill more difficult, he ſhall be hand-"ſomely rewarded; theſe parties ſhould not conſiſt of above four- 13th.

1759. August. "teen or ſixteen men, unleſs when a Subaltern commands, and, "in that caſe, they may be twenty or twenty-four men. When "the ſoldiers are not employed at work, they are to dreſs and "clean themſelves, ſo as to appear under arms, and, upon all occa- "ſions, in the moſt ſoldierlike manner. Each regiment and "corps is to parade a man of a tent to-morrow morning at ſix, "in the rear of Monckton's, with their arms, and Officers in "proportion to their numbers: they are to go out for garden- "ſtuff, and are to be covered by that part of the five piquets "of the line which is not upon duty: the whole to be "under the command of Major Morris, Field-Officer of the "piquet."

Laſt night a great firing of cannon and ſmall arms was heard up the country at a diſtance above the town; the enemy were thereby alarmed, and their drums in the garriſon and camp beat to arms for a conſiderable time: this is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by Admiral Holmes and Brigadier Murray in the upper river. The General bombarded the enemy's camp warmly this morning, by which one of their houſes took fire, and, while they were endeavouring to extinguiſh it, he gave them a vigorous diſcharge from all his artillery, and maintained it above an hour. The detachment of the forty-third diſembarked, and were ordered to dreſs three days' proviſions. Upwards of a thouſand cannon-ſhot, and twenty thirteen-inch ſhells, which came from the enemy at different times, have been collected in the precincts of our batteries, and were ſent on board an ordnance-ſhip to be tranſmitted, as it is ſaid, to Louiſbourg; the ſoldiers are allowed two pence for a ſhot, two ſhillings and ſix pence for a ten-inch, and five ſhillings for thirteen-inch ſhells. Two marines deſerted to-day. Nothing extraordinary at our batteries; moderate firing between them and the town: our weather gloomy; wind right a-head, and, by the deluges of rain we have had of late, the air is rendered cool, and our camp uncomfortable.

A company

A company of grenadiers from the Royal Americans, and a company of marines, both from the north camp, are this day ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to relieve the Louiſbourg grenadiers, who are on duty at the weſt of Orleans. The detachment of the forty-third regiment, which was on board the ſhips that made the laſt attempt to paſs the town, marched this morning to Goreham's poſt, there to embark in boats, and proceed to reinforce Brigadier Murray. It is confidently ſaid that General Wolfe has received diſpatches from the Commander in chief, but through what channel is not mentioned, which makes it doubtful. *A ſtrong fortreſs, to contain a garriſon of three thouſand men, this winter, on the iſland of Coudre, is again reported to be determined upon, and the plan to be very ſoon put in execution.* The enemy are diligently employed in repairing their batteries, and are throwing up ſome works on the north-eaſt corner of the upper town, which occaſions our cannonading and bombarding them to-day with great ſpirit. General Wolfe attacked ſome of the enemy's floating batteries, who were edging down to the Point de Leſt, and obliged them to retire very precipitately. Fine weather, wind ſtill perverſe. 1759. Auguſt 14th.

Seven marines deſerted laſt night, and were ſeen croſſing the river in canoes. Our new ſix-gun battery plays with great ſucceſs againſt the Governor's houſe and the Biſhop's palace. A party of two hundred Highlanders have paſſed over to Orleans; the enemy galled them with their floating batteries, which was ſpiritedly returned by the batteries eaſtward of the cataract. Four ſailors, who have been for ſome time miſſing, were found ſcalped on the lower end of the iſle of Orleans. Colonel Williamſon is marking out ground for a new battery to deſtroy the citadel. General Wolfe engaged one of the floats this afternoon, and ſhe ſoon after blew up. The town is warmly bombarded this evening. 15th.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

1759. Auguſt 16th. "The regiments are to give in returns to the Majors of "brigade of the number of ſmiths, maſons, carpenters, brick-"layers, miners, and ſawyers in their corps *. As the enemy's "light troops are continually hovering about the camp, in hopes "of ſurpriſing ſome ſmall guard, or ſome of the centinels; it "is neceſſary to be extremely vigilant upon duty. The out-poſts "and guards in the redoubts are never to have leſs than a third of "their men under arms; for an hour before day, and at leaſt half an "hour after broad day-light, the whole are to be under arms."

A fire broke out in the town laſt night, and the flames ſpread with great rapidity; the enemy then, as in ſuch caſes, fired vigorouſly on our batteries, though without execution. The detachment of the forty-third regiment returned this morning from Goreham's poſt; they waited the arrival of boats to take them up the river, but, the communication being interrupted by the enemy's floats, our boats cannot paſs up or down; the Major, who commanded, made an attempt to croſs the river Etchemin, in order to proceed by land until he ſhould get a-breaſt of Mr. Holmes's ſquadron, and then make a ſignal to be taken on board; but the waters were ſo much out, occaſioned by the late heavy rains, that the rivulet was not paſſable; one man was unfortunately drowned in the attempt, and ſome arms, &c. were loſt, many of the ſoldiers being taken off their feet by the rapidity of the current, who were obliged to ſwim a-ſhore: to complete the diſagreeableneſs of their ſituation, the enemy fired at them, while they where

* The frequent mention made of erecting a fortreſs on the iſland of Coudre is not merely an idle camp packet; it has been often circulated through policy; and the foregoing order, though it does not confirm ſuch an intention, plainly refers to it.

fording,

fording, from their battery at Sillery, though without any effect. A Midſhipman has made ſeveral efforts to go up the river with a packet to Brigadier Murray, but cannot ſucceed: when he was ſent down expreſs from Admiral Holmes's ſquadron to General Wolfe, he ſpied the enemy's floating batteries at the Toulon; whereupon he unſhipped his oars and helm, directed his men to lie down in the boat, and let her drive, knowing it was tide of ebb, with the current; by this means he paſſed the town, if not unobſerved, at leaſt unmoleſted; it is probable, if the enemy did diſcern the boat, they ſuppoſed it might be, as the night was dark, an old tree, or piece of timber, floating up and down with the tide; a circumſtance not uncommon in this river. The weather changed this evening, which brought the wind about, but it did not continue long fair; our new batteries are in great forwardneſs. 1759. Auguſt.

O R D E R S.

" Mr. Cameron, a volunteer in the light infantry of General " Laſcelles's regiment, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a remarkable " manner in the defence of a houſe, with only a Serjeant, Corporal, " and ſixteen men of Laſcelles's light infantry, againſt a body of " Savages and Canadians greatly ſuperior in number, the General " has ordered that the firſt vacant commiſſion in the army be given " to Mr. Cameron, in acknowledgement of his good conduct and " very gallant behaviour. A flanking party of the twenty-eighth " regiment, commanded by a Serjeant, diſtinguiſhed themſelves " upon the ſame occaſion, and haſtened to the aſſiſtance of his " friends with very great ſpirit." 17th.

Part of the town took fire again laſt night, but, there being no wind, and a heavy rain, it was ſoon got under. Such of the marines as are foreigners are ordered on board their ſhips, to prevent farther deſertions. The rangers brought in a parcel of ſheep and other cattle to-day. The floating ſtages which we made were never uſed,

1759. August. and are now all ordered to be torn up, *to be ſent* (as it is ſaid) *to Coudre, and applied to the building barracs and hoſpitals*. Yeſterday, on the north ſide, a party of Indians were diſcovered, in number between two and three hundred, by a ſmall party of men under the command of the volunteer * of the light infantry company of the forty-ſeventh regiment, who is ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed by General Wolfe in the orders of this day. They firſt ſhewed themſelves, and then retired to a houſe at a ſmall diſtance, whence they drubbed the ſavages very gallantly. The General, upon the alarm, flew to their aſſiſtance with the piquets, ſuſtained by a detachment from the line: upon ſight of theſe troops, they took to flight over the river, dragging their killed and wounded with them, to the number of fifteen, or more, according to their practice; if the General, with his ſuccours, had not appeared quite ſo ſoon, the Indians would have been totally cut off by Colonel Howe and the light infantry, who, at the firſt firing, took to the woods for that purpoſe: they gave the raſcals, however, a briſk diſcharge, as they were going off. The town and our batteries were ſilent all laſt night and to-day, until two o'clock in the afternoon, when they broke out, and a ſmart cannonading and bombardment enſued on both ſides. The new batteries we are erecting are to mount nineteen twenty-four pounders. A ſtorm is ſtrongly talked of, in which the Admiral, it is ſaid, will aſſiſt with a few ſhips and ſome thouſands of ſeamen. There was one man killed and three wounded at our batteries this evening; one of whom died ſoon after, and another underwent the amputation of an arm; *it is remarkable, that this is the firſt death that has happened, by ſhot or ſhell from the town, ſince we firſt broke ground* † *within the range of their artillery*.

* I regret that I cannot particulariſe Mr. Cameron by his Chriſtian appellation, as there are ſeveral of the ſame name in the army.

† The ſecond of July; and the 12th we opened our batteries.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

" If a ſoldier pretends to diſpute the authority of an Officer of 1759. Auguſt 18th.
" another corps under whoſe command he is, and if any ſoldier pre-
" ſumes to uſe any indecent language to the non-commiſſioned
" Officers of his own, or any other corps, ſuch ſoldier ſhall be
" puniſhed in an exemplary manner. The regiments upon the
" eſtabliſhment of ſeven hundred men will, upon application to
" Mr. Porter, the Pay-maſter General, receive five hundred pounds
" on account; and thoſe of a thouſand men, ſeven hundred pounds.
" Divine ſervice will be performed to-morrow morning at ten
" o'clock, and four in the afternoon, &c."

We have ſupported a briſk fire upon the town all this laſt night and to-day. In the afternoon they gave us three ſhells and about twenty ſhot, with no better ſucceſs than uſual. As ſome ſloops were dropping down to General Wolfe's camp with proviſions, the enemy bombarded them from their mortar battery above the Point de Leſt, and the compliment was returned from our battery on the eaſtern eminence by the fall. A few priſoners were brought in by the rangers. The chief Engineer diſapproves of ſtorming Quebec, as an enterpriſe extremely dangerous, and without any proſpect of ſucceeding, particularly as the fleet cannot aſſiſt us, their guns not having ſufficient elevation to affect the upper town; Major M'Kellar (who is well acquainted with all the interior parts of the place) is alſo of opinion, that, if we were even maſters of the lower town, we could neither carry our point, nor continue in poſſeſſion of it.

The weather exceſſively hot for ſome days. Divine ſervice per- 19th.
formed at different hours for the convenience of the troops. Nothing extraordinary at our batteries. At ten o'clock this night our camp was alarmed by a diſcharging of ſmall arms off the point upon the river; this was occaſioned by one of the enemy's watch-boats and our's having met in the dark, whereupon a ſcuffle enſued, and

1759. August. Monſieur ſheered off, after exchanging a volley: we had one ſailor killed, and two wounded; the loſs * of the enemy is unknown to us. Cool weather, gloomy air, with a Britiſh wind to paſs the town. A great firing of cannon was heard early this morning above Quebec. The enemy having preſumed to fire ſeveral muſkets into Mr. Wolfe's camp, and wound one of his advanced centries, he retaliated it by a diſcharge of all his cannon and howitzers. The detachment under Captain Goreham, that went down the river the 6th inſtant, returned this afternoon: at ſetting out, they croſſed over to Orleans in boats, and embarked at the lower end of that iſland in ſmall trading ſloops. After they paſſed l'iſle de Madame, they bore down upon the Zephir ſloop of war, who was cruiſing in the river, Captain Goreham being charged with a particular meſſage for the Commander of her; but, as it was late in the evening, and there being many creeks and bays yet unknown to us, where it is not improbable but the enemy might have ſmall craft concealed, the Zephir fired upon them, and continued to do ſo for a conſiderable time, not chuſing to know them in the dark. At length, Mr. Goreham, ordering his veſſels to lie too, took to his boat, and rowed up within hailing of the Zephir; and, telling who he was, and that he brought ſome commands from the Admiral and General, he was taken on board; luckily there was no miſchief done in this blundering rencounter. The ſloop of war then taking the detachment under convoy, they came to an anchor off the iſland of Coudre, and next morning, at day-break, they got into their boats, and rowed to Paul's bay; when they came within reach of the ſhore, they were ſaluted with a ſhower of muſketry, by which one man was killed, and eight were wounded; among the latter was a Midſhipman (dangerouſly) and two ſailors; before the villagers could load again, the boats were grounded, and the troops inſtantly puſhed on ſhore, charged, and

* I was told, at Quebec, it was not a regular watch-boat. Eight volunteers of the enemy thought to amuſe themſelves and ſurpriſe one of our boats; they had two killed, and three wounded, one of whom died after lingering three weeks.

routed

routed the wretched inhabitants. Captain Goreham, finding the houſes abandoned, ſet fire to the village, and deſtroyed every building therein, except the church; on the door of which he fixed up an advertiſement of the General's, informing the Canadians, " that the " rigorous meaſures he now purſued, and ſhould certainly perſevere " in, were occaſioned by the contempt they ſhewed to the mani- " feſto he publiſhed in June, and to the gracious offers he therein " propoſed to them; moreover, that they made ſuch ungrateful re- " turns, in practiſing the moſt unchriſtian-like barbarities againſt " his troops on all occaſions, that he could no longer refrain, with " juſtice to himſelf and his army, chaſtiſing them as they deſerved, " &c." This detachment took twenty head of black cattle, forty ſheep and hogs, a great quantity of poultry, and an immenſe deal of plunder, conſiſting of books, apparel, and houſhold-ſtuff of various kinds. They had a Swiſs for their guide, who had been a Captain of militia, alſo a reſident for ſeveral years in the townſhip of St. Paul, and deſerted from the enemy ſome time before. Monſieur de Vaudreuil had much confidence in this fellow, and gave him the command of all the men in that diſtrict who were able to bear arms, with orders to harraſs us, as often as opportunity ſhould offer, by landing ſmall parties on the eaſt end of Orleans, the iſland of Coudre, &c. " and, if he ſhould make two or more Britiſh Offi- " cers priſoners, to reſerve one only for intelligence, and ſcalp the " others; all ſailors and private ſoldiers were to have no quarters " granted them." Among the Prieſt's papers there was a letter from the Governor-General to him, with poſitive commands, if he could poſſibly diſcover the Swiſs Captain (alluding to that deſerter) to hang him inſtantly, without a moment's heſitation or ceremony. His Excellency, in another letter to this reverend Father, gave him a relation of the attempt we made at the Point de Leſt on the 31ſt *ult.* wherein, he ſaid, ' they had beat us off with great loſs, and ' had burned two of our beſt frigates, &c." The Prieſt was ordered, ' to be very diligent and exact in watching all ſhips paſſing

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1759. August. 'up or down the river, with or without troops on board; if poſſible 'to ſurpriſe ſome of our ſmall craft at anchor, and to be punctual 'in tranſmitting reports of all his obſervations, and of every occur-'rence, &c.' By the deſerter above-mentioned we are informed, that two thouſand Canadians have been permitted to withdraw from the army to reap their harveſt. A heavy ſtorm of rain in the evening, with great thunder and lightning.

21ſt. Notwithſtanding the quantity of cattle brought in from time to time by our light troops, we are frequently reduced to eat horſe-fleſh, beef, mutton, &c. being reſerved for the hoſpitals. The Indian priſoner, who was on board the Admiral's ſhip, threw himſelf into the river laſt night, and made his eſcape: the centries on deck fired after him, and boats put off in hopes to recover him; but, as the ſavages in general are dexterous in ſwimming and diving, their ſearches were fruitleſs. We fire a little on the town to-day without any return; — the weather is ſo extremely wet and diſagreeable that very little advantage can now be reaped any-where. At noon General Wolfe diſcharged ſome howitzers into the enemy's camp. *The project of erecting a fortreſs on the iſland of Coudre, for a garriſon of three thouſand men, is laid aſide for want of proper materials, and the ſeaſon being too far advanced for ſuch an undertaking. The enterpriſe of ſtorming Quebec is alſo given up, as too deſperate to hope for ſucceſs.*

22d. It is with the greateſt concern to the whole army, that we are now informed of our amiable General's being very ill of a ſlow fe-fever: the ſoldiers lament him exceedingly, and ſeemed apprehenſive of this event, before we were aſcertained of it, by his not viſiting this camp * for ſeveral days paſt. Our new batteries are to mount nineteen guns, (it is ſaid ſome twelves and) twenty-four pounders: we talk of erecting another, to the left of the whole, for five guns; which will augment our number to thirty-ſix pieces

* At Point de Levi.

of cannon, beſides mortars. As another fire-raft was expected laſt night, the tranſports and ſmall craft were previouſly ordered to fall down a-ſtern of the fleet. Alarm-poſts for the troops in this camp are appointed to-day in public orders. Our batteries are now limited to twenty-five rounds in twenty-four hours *per* gun, and the mortars to forty-five. A boat, paſſing from the lower town to Charles's river, was this day knocked to pieces by a gun-ſhot: out of five paſſengers we could only diſcern two who waded a-ſhore. It blows freſh down the river. Mornings and evenings raw and cold. 1759. Auguſt.

Early this morning the troops eaſtward of the fall began to burn ſome ſettlements in their neighbourhood; preſently after the alarm-bells were rung at Beauport, and the out-parties of the enemy aſſembled in their camp. In a note from an Officer on the north ſide, he tells me, 'he is juſt returned from a ſcout of twelve miles, 'and that the Canadians are beginning to reap their peaſe and barley.' The General was lately heard to ſay in converſation, 'that he 'would chearfully ſacrifice a leg or an arm to be in poſſeſſion of 'Quebec.' Goreham's poſt was attacked this morning by one of the enemy's floating batteries: they had the preſumption to come within the range of our muſketry, but got ſuch a warm reception, that they were ſoon obliged to retire with great precipitation; among their complement of hands on board four only were able to row her off, and they did not even attempt to fire a ſtern-chace in their retreat. Some ſailors went out, contrary to repeated orders, to gather peaſe and vegetables; a party of the country-people fired upon them, whereby one was killed on the ſpot, and another was brought in mortally wounded. The garriſon threw about a dozen ſhot and three ſhells at our batteries this afternoon, in the ſpace of two hours, without any ſucceſs. A Prieſt, with about four ſcore of his pariſhioners, have fortified themſelves in a houſe, a few miles to the eaſtward of our camp, on the north ſide of the river, where they indiſcreetly pretend to brave our troops: a detachment of light infantry, with a field-piece and a howitzer, are to be ſent to reduce them. 23d.

I croſſed

1759. Auguſt 24th. I croſſed the river this morning to wait on the General, and receive his orders for this brigade; this is the firſt and only opportunity I had of being in that camp, where no pains have been ſpared to render it impregnable: a tolerable houſe ſtood convenient here for Mr. Wolfe's quarters, but he was ſo ill above ſtairs as not to be able to come to dinner. There being no particular commands for me, and as I had ſome ſpare time on my hands, I ventured to take a walk to the weſtward, and view more diſtinctly the Leap (as the French term it) of Montmorencie, and the enemy's intrenchments: this natural curioſity appears, from the ſouth ſhore, to be much higher than it is in reality; I believe it does not exceed fifty feet, if ſo much, though others think differently, from its level of the beach, where it falls in a perpendicular line; and the rivulet which ſupplies it is ſo inconſiderable, not ſurpaſſing thirty feet in breadth, (though it contracts gradually towards the bottom, like an artificial ditch in an intrenchment, but not altogether ſo regular) that it is amazing to ſee ſo ſtupendous a cataract from ſuch an inſignificant brook: this I can no otherwiſe take upon me to account for, than upon a ſuppoſition that this body of water is conſiderable towards its ſource, and its being reduced, at the ſouth end, to the narrow limits of a ſtream, cauſes it to ruſh down the cliff with a ſtrength and rapidity not to be conceived *. I had very nigh paid dear for my inquiſitiveneſs; for, while I ſtood upon the eminence with a paper and pencil in my hand, making ſome obſervations on this caſcade, the advantageous ſituation of the enemy on the oppoſite ſide of it, with the ſuperiority of this ground over the left of theirs in point of height, and the natural ſtrength of the country all round me, I was haſtily called to by one of our centinels, when, throwing my eyes about,

* In ſome modern maps, that I have ſeen, of the baſon of Quebec, and the circumjacent country, this cataract is laid down at three hundred and ſixty-ſix feet, which, I am perſuaded, is a moſt egregious miſtake; for the riſing ground immediately to the eaſtward of it, ſtill conſiderably higher, cannot exceed, if it even meaſures, one hundred and fifty feet from its ſubmit to the level of the beach below, taking it alſo in a perpendicular line.

I ſaw

I saw a Frenchman creeping under the eastern extremity of their breast-work, next the main river, to fire at me; this obliged me to retire as fast as I could out of his reach, and, making up to the centry to thank him for his attention, he told me the fellow had snapped his piece twice, and the second time it flashed in the pan, at the instant when I turned away from the fall. Having satisfied my curiosity, and not finding myself disposed to give Monsieur another chance at this time, on so trivial an occasion, I returned to the head quarters. An Officer of the Royal Americans trooping off the quatrer-guard, after being relieved, had one of his legs broken by a random musket-shot from the enemy *: I am amazed accidents of this kind have not more frequently happened from the vicinity of the two camps; whence it appears to me, that the Sieur de Montcalm is determined to adhere to his prudent system of acting upon the defensive, because it is evident he might at first have routed General Wolfe's troops from the east side of the rivulet, or at least to a greater distance, if he had foreseen any bad consequences from our possession of that ground, or any real advantage that could accrue to us over his army by taking post there.—In the evening I returned to Point Levi: the enemy were very complaisant, as we passed and repassed, by not firing at our boat from their battery above the Point de Lest, according to their custom. A flag of truce came down to-day, with an account of the death of the gallant Captain Ouchterloney, who was wounded and taken prisoner the 31st. *ult*. his baggage, that had been forwarded to him at his request, was faithfully returned. The Priest, who fortified himself on the north side of the river, sent a written invitation to an Officer who commanded in a house in his neighbourhood, 'to honour him 'with his company to dinner, with an assurance, that he, and 'any Officer of his detachment, who would be kind enough to ac-'company him, should return with the greatest safety:' he added,—'that, as the English Officer fought for his King and for glory, he

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* He did not long survive this disaster.

'hoped

1759. August. 'hoped he himſelf would be excuſed in fighting for his poor 'pariſhioners, and defending his country:' to which, after a polite apology for not being able to accept of the civility, the Officer ſubjoined, 'That, he flattered himſelf, he ſhould ſoon have the happineſs of entertaining the gallant Prieſt, and his adherents, in the 'Britiſh camp.'

A Gunner deſerted this morning, and was taken up, about eight miles off, by an advanced party of rangers: they found him employed in making a raft, on which he propoſed to croſs the river. It is confidently reported that this camp is ſoon to be attacked by a large detachment of the enemy, under Monſieur de Levis; that it is to be a night affair, and attempted by ſurpriſe. The town threw five ſhells at our batteries to-day, but there was no miſchief done: we continue to keep the place in ruin.

25th. Our brigade are ordered to throw up ſome additional works for the ſecurity of this camp; a few priſoners were brought in to-day by a party of rangers. The unfortunate Prieſt is defeated; a detachment of light troops laid an ambuſcade in the ſkirts of the wood near to his fortified houſe, and, as ſoon as the field-piece was brought up, and began to play, he, with his men, ſallied out, when, falling into the ambuſh, thirty of them, with their leader, were ſurrounded, killed, and ſcalped; the reaſon of their being treated with ſuch cruelty proceeded from the wetched pariſhioners having diſguiſed themſelves like Indians: in this rencounter we had five men wounded. Brigadier Monckton has acquainted the troops here, by order of General Wolfe, that he has received intelligence of an attack menaced againſt this camp, or the weſt Point of Orleans, and that it is to be put in execution, probably, this night. — The pariſh of Richet, with the ſtately houſe lately occupied by the indiſcreet Prieſt, called Château Richet, are now in flames. At nine o'clock this night Brigadier Murray returned from the upper river: he deſtroyed a magazine at Chambaud, conſiſting of proviſions, ammunition, ſpare cloathing, with other ſtores and baggage of the French

French army, took ſeveral priſoners, and obliged the enemy to burn a brigantine of two hundred tons; this however was not effected without ſome loſs, Mr. Murray having made two different attempts to land, before he could carry his point. By ſundry letters that were found, and are confirmed by ſome faſhionable priſoners, we have agreeable accounts of General Amherſt's ſucceſs at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, the enemy being obliged to abandon thoſe important poſts, upon the approach of his artillery; and Monſieur Bourlemacque is retired to a ſtrong paſs at iſle au Noix, on the lake Champlain, with his forces, amounting to near three thouſand men; where they are fortified with a reſolution to defend it, as they give out, to the laſt extremity. Through the ſame channel we have the happy news of the reduction of Niagara, by a detachment of Mr. Amherſt's army, commanded by Brigadier-General Prideaux, conſiſting of three regiments of regulars, ſome provincials, and a large body of Indians, under Sir William Johnſon; but that unfortunately the Brigadier, and another Officer of diſtinction, were killed. We are likewiſe aſſured, that the whole number of men in arms throughout this province do not exceed twenty-five thouſand, including regulars, Indians, and Canadians, from the age of ſixteen to ſeventy: that the latter are very diſcontented, and would chearfully ſurrender their capital, if they had people of reſolution among them to excite and encourage a revolt, rather than ſee their country thus groaning and bleeding under the calamities of war. The enemy's ſhips, in the upper river, had this advantage over Admiral Holmes's diviſion, that they could eaſily lighten, by ſending their guns, ballaſt, &c. a-ſhore, to inable them to paſs any interruptions in the navigation, which the Admiral could not effect, the country being every-where fortified, and the ſame attention paid to the defence of it, that we have experienced below, and in the circumjacent parts of Quebec. Wherever Brigadier Murray met with any oppoſition or annoyance, he made ſevere repriſals, leaving his reaſons behind him in a written paper affixed

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1759. August. to the doors of their churches; by which others of the unhappy natives profited, they permitting his troops to paſs through ſeveral villages unmoleſted. The enemy have got a ſquadron of three hundred light cavalry, well accoutered and appointed, to act occaſionally on foot or horſe-back, as circumſtances may require. A ſoldier of the forty-eighth regiment was found ſcalped, and otherwiſe moſt inhumanly butchered in a field of peaſe, about three hundred yards W. S. W. of our batteries: His Excellency General Wolfe is on the recovery, to the inconceivable joy of the whole army.

26th. The troops in this camp were very alert laſt night, prepared to receive the enemy; but unluckily they diſappointed us: there were a few popping ſhots fired by our centries who were advanced above the batteries, and imagined they ſaw an armed party making towards them; except which, we had no other alarm on this ſide; neither was there any diſturbance on the Point of Orleans, as had been alſo expected. A gentleman at Quebec has written to a provincial Officer *, who was a priſoner there, to requeſt he would obtain a protection from the General for his country-ſeat on the iſland of Orleans: as that perſon was always remarkable for great humanity and politeneſs to Britiſh captives, his ſuit is chearfully granted. A Serjeant of the thirty-fifth regiment, a bold deſperate fellow, deſerted acroſs the fall to the enemy; ſome cannon and muſketry were fired after him, but he eſcaped without any accident. Our batteries and the town exchanged many ſhot and ſhells to-day; our weather now warm and pleaſant.

27th. The fifteenth regiment, who have been in the upper river, repaſſed the town laſt night in flat-bottomed boats, and returned to camp; the enemy did not perceive them. An aſſiſtant Gunner of the marines had his head ſhot off at our batteries, by his gun's not being properly ſponged before he loaded her; another was ſeverely

* This is Mr. Stobo, an Officer of great merit, who had been an occaſional Major of the provincials, and, for particular good ſervices, was rewarded with a company in the fifteenth regiment of foot.

wounded

wounded by the ſame diſaſter. A fair wind up the river, which blows freſh; moderate firing at our batteries. About nine o'clock this night the Leoſtaff frigate, Hunter ſloop, and two tranſport cats paſſed the town; the enemy gave them a moſt tremendous fire, which was vigorouſly returned on our part, and continued above an hour; our pleaſant weather is changed again to rain. 1759. Auguſt.

We heard a heavy diſcharging of ſmall arms, laſt night, in the rear of the left of the enemy's intrenchments, towards the upper ford. The Hunter ſloop, in paſſing the town, had one man killed, and two dangerouſly wounded; which were the only accidents that happened to any of theſe four ſhips. 28th.

For theſe two days we have had fine weather, with refreſhing breezes. This afternoon all the men off duty, with the piquets of this brigade, were ordered out to ſtrip houſes, boards being wanted to floor our mens' tents for the preſervation of their health. The eldeſt Captain commanded the whole; we ſaw ſome Canadians, at a diſtance, reaping, who took to their arms, and ran off, as ſoon as they diſcovered us; we returned in the evening without any annoyance from theſe unhappy people. Our troops, eaſtward of Montmorencie, are preparing to evacuate that ground; the enemy's batteries, weſtward of the cataract; cannonaded the boats that were paſſing to General Wolfe's camp, in order to bring off the ſick, women, and heavy baggage; but his Excellency, by a ſuperior fire from all his cannon and howitzers, ſoon ſilenced them. The diſcharging of ſmall arms in the rear of the left of the enemy's intrenchments, on the night of the 27th, was occaſioned by a falſe alarm in the camp of their Indians, from an apprehenſion that our troops were in motion, and endeavouring to paſs the upper ford. We hear a ſmart firing of cannon and muſketry this evening, at a ſmall diſtance above the town. No extraordinary occurrences at our batteries theſe laſt forty-eight hours, they and the town remaining quiet. 29th.

1759. August 30th. A company of rangers, on a ſcout towards Beaumont, eaſtward, ſurpriſed about twenty Canadians reaping their corn, who inſtantly took to their arms, and made to a coppice that covered the road, at half a mile's diſtance, intending to way-lay them; they gave our rangers a fire before they were within reach, which diſcovered their deſign; whereupon the Captain retired a little way, formed his men into three diviſions, detached one to the right, and another to the left, while the third moved on at a gentle pace: upon the center party's advancing, the enemy fired again, and immediately the other diviſions got round, and ruſhed upon them unexpectedly: five of thoſe wretches were killed and ſcalped, and four were made priſoners; the rangers had two men ſlightly wounded, who returned to the field where the Canadians had been reaping, and found a bag of bread, a ſecond of powder, and a third of letters; many of them I read, which breathed moſt emphatically of miſery and diſtreſs. A ſcalp was brought in this evening, with two priſoners, by another party of rangers, from the S. S. W. quarter. A Captain, four Subalterns, and one hundred and ſeventy volunteers, of the forty-third regiment, with an Officer and thirty marines, are under orders this night, to be ready at a moment's warning to go upon a particular ſervice.

31ſt. The ſmall parties commanded by Serjeants, who have been hitherto advanced in the front, for the ſecurity of the north camp, are diſcontinued, the piquets being ordered for that duty. General Wolfe appeared in his camp to-day, for the firſt time ſince his late illneſs. A French regular deſerted, this morning, acroſs the rivulet of Montmorencie; he confirms the intelligence we received before, reſpecting the great ſucceſs of the army, under the Commander in chief, and of the corps under the late Brigadier Prideaux: he adds that two Officers, and four Mohawk Indians *, who were

* Two of theſe Mohawks were roaſted to death by the French at Trois Rivieres, in preſence of the other two, who were ſcalped alive, carried to Montreal, and hanged in chains; the Officers, I have been informed, were put in irons, and otherwiſe very rigorouſly treated.

coming expreſs from General Amherſt to this army, were taken by the enemy near Les Trois Rivieres. The town and our batteries are quiet to-day: the wind is fair for ſhips to paſs to the upper river. The foregoing command of volunteers and marines, with a detachment from the brigades on the north ſide, and a large corps of rangers, embarked this evening, the whole commanded by Major Scott; they are to be convoyed down the river, as far as there are any ſettlements, by a frigate and a ſloop of war, with orders to lay waſte ſuch pariſhes as ſhall preſume to perſiſt in their oppoſition. We are drawing off our cannon from General Wolfe's camp. 1759. Auguſt.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The piquets of the line are to lie in the front of the camp, "in ſuch manner as the Brigadier-General of the day ſhall direct "the Field Officer to poſt them, except a Subaltern and twenty of "Monckton's, who are to relieve that part of the piquet advanced "on the left at the uſual hour; the piquets are not to go out till "twelve o'clock. Two boats will be appointed at nine this night "for each regiment, one to take the baggage that will not be abſolutely neceſſary on board the tranſports appointed for the regiment or corps, the other to carry the neceſſary heavy baggage "to Point Levi. The Quarter-maſters and Camp Colour-men to "attend at the beach, where they will receive their inſtructions "from Colonel Carlton." 1759. Sept. 1ſt.

The Seahorſe frigate, two cats, and two ſloops, paſſed into the upper river laſt night between eleven and twelve o'clock, which occaſioned a furious firing between the town and our batteries; they had a moſt favourable breeze at E. S. E. which blew freſh. Some rangers, who did not embark yeſterday, having evacuated their poſts in order to join Major Scott, a party of the enemy immediately ventured to make their appearance within ſight of our batteries, upon which

1759. Sept. which a detachment of light infantry were ordered to hunt them, and to replace the rangers in that quarter. The ſhips got ſafe up laſt night without any accident; others are under orders to paſs withthe firſt favourable opportunity. The troops on the north ſide are burning and deſtroying the houſes and harveſt in their neighbourhood. The enemy's batteries above the Point de Leſt annoy our boats paſſing and repaſſing between the weſtern point of Orleans and the beach eaſtward of the caſcade, which cauſes much firing into their camp from the General's artillery. Several pieces of braſs cannon, twelves and twenty-four pounders, were drawn up to our batteries, and we are throwing up another redoubt there. Some French letters have been intercepted by our rangers; in one of them we learn, that Monſieur Montcalm has hanged two Canadians, and whipped ſeveral others, for quitting the army without his permiſſion; and that he has promiſed to diſcharge them all by the 25th of this month, at which time he pretends that our fleet and army will ſail down the river. Monſieur Vaudreuil, in his letters to the Prieſts in the ſeveral pariſhes of the lower country, expreſſes his ſurpriſe at their diſobedience to his orders, in not concealing their cattle within the more interior woods of their diſtricts, to prevent their falling into our hands; his Excellency reprimands them for this neglect with great *hauteur*, and injoins them to pay more reſpect to his commands for the time to come, on pain of incurring his higheſt diſpleaſure. In a letter to one of thoſe ſpiritual guides at a place called the South River, a conſiderable way to the eaſtward of this camp, he commands him to pay the ſtricteſt attention to the care of Monſieur Bois Hibert's batteaus and ſhallops, to inable that Officer, with his partiſans, to return to his government of Acadia after our departure, which, he pretends, 'will ſoon take place;' he likewiſe orders the Prieſt to ſave and barrel up a large quantity of eels againſt the winter. It is privately rumoured, with ſome confidence, that the main body of our army is ſhortly to be conveyed above the town, to endeavour to force a landing on the north ſide of the river, between Cape Rouge and Cape Diamond.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

1759. Sept. 2d. "The tents of all the corps are to be ſtruck this evening when "dark, and carried down at eight o'clock to the boats on the beach, "under Anſtruther's regiment; there will be a boat aſſigned to each "corps to carry them off; theſe boats muſt be unloaded at Point "Levi before high water, that they may return with the ebb: a "proper Officer will attend.".

AFTER ORDERS in the Evening.

"The troops are to march to-morrow morning, and embark "for Point Levi; the ſignal for their moving will be the burn- "ing of a barn before Brigadier Townſhend's houſe: thoſe de- "tachments which occupy houſes are, when they evacuate them, "to leave a ſmall party, who are to ſet them on fire, and then "join the main body. Bragg's regiment to march firſt, and "will be directed by Brigadier Townſhend; Laſcelles's next, then "Anſtruther's, and, laſtly, Otway's; theſe three regiments are to "take the road behind Anſtruther's camp; the two howitzers "are to be carried down by Laſcelles's. Colonel Howe's light "infantry will form the rear-guard of the whole, according to "the particular inſtructions given him. When the troops are "drawn up on the beach, they are to leave an interval between "Anſtruther's and Laſcelles's for the light infantry."

SECOND AFTER ORDERS.

"The regiments are to repair to their alarm-poſts this night at "twelve o'clock; they are to conceal themſelves intirely after "day-light, ſo as to try to induce the enemy to attack them; "they will obſerve this direction to the very moment in which

"the

1759. Sept. "the ſignal will be made. As Otway's regiment have the large "redoubt, and the grenadiers' redoubt in their alarm-poſts, they "are to ſend a piquet to the former, and the grenadiers to the lat- "ter, immediately after dark. Laſcelles's regiment is to ſend, as "ſoon as it is dark, a Subaltern and twenty men to the lower bat- "tery; this Officer is to conceal his people after day-light, and to "join his regiment, when he perceives they are on the march to the "beach: no fires to be made by the men in their alarm-poſts."

General Wolfe is preparing to withdraw his troops from the ground eaſtward of the cataract; for this purpoſe he has ſent over all his artillery, ſtores, baggage, tents, &c. Some of the regiments will incamp here, and others are to remain on the iſland of Orleans until farther orders: the ſettlements on that agreeable ſpot have, for the moſt part, ſhared the ſame fate with the reſt of the country, wherever our light troops have been detached. Two French regulars deſerted acroſs the rivulet of Montmorencie. We fired vigorouſly on the town laſt night. The enemy cannonaded our boats paſſing between this point, the weſt of Orleans, and the ſhore occupied by General Wolfe; they beat one of them to pieces, in which were ſeven men, ſix of whom were drowned. The wind ſtill continues favourable for ſhips to paſs the town. The garriſon are making merlins and embraſures to their great barbet battery next the baſon; our batteries retard theſe works conſiderably. A ſloop of war is under orders to ſail to England with diſpatches from the Admiral and General. General Wolfe is endeavouring to draw the flower of the French Army, from their ſtrong intrenched camp, to an engagement on his own ground, before he abandons it.

The

The killed, wounded, and miſſing of this army, in the different ſervices where we have been employed, ſince our arrival before Quebec, amount to 1759. Sept. 2d.

	K.	W.	M.	Total of every Rank, Regulars, Marines, Artillery, and Rangers.
Commiſſioned Officers	10	47		
Serjeants —	9	26		
Drummers —	00	7		
Rank and file —	163	575	17	
Total —	182	655	17	854

Being now come to that period at which the General drew up a ſummary of the various tranſactions of this armament, ſince our arrival before Quebec, I take the liberty, *in compliance with the particular deſire of ſeveral gentlemen, whoſe names are prefixed to this work*, to annex here a tranſcript of that review comprehended in his Excellency's letter to the Miniſtry, as it is not only the beſt and moſt lively recapitulation that can be made of our ſundry proceedings to this day, but alſo demonſtrates, in a great meaſure, the authenticity of my labours:

'The obſtacles we have met with, in the operations of the 'campaign, are much greater than we had reaſon to expect, or could 'foreſee; not ſo much from the number of the enemy (though ſu- 'perior to us) as from the natural ſtrength of the country, which 'the Marquis de Montcalm ſeems wiſely to depend upon. When 'I learned that ſuccours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec; 'that five battalions of regular troops, completed from the beſt of 'the inhabitants of the country, ſome of the troops of the colony, 'and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, beſides ſeveral na- 'tions of ſavages, had taken the field in a very advantageous ſitua- 'tion; I could not flatter myſelf that I ſhould be able to reduce 'the place. I ſought, however, an occaſion to attack their army,

1759. Sept. ‘ knowing well that with theſe troops I was able to fight, and hoping ‘ that a victory might diſperſe them. We found them incamped, ‘ along the ſhore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the fall ‘ of Montmorencie, and intrenched in every inacceſſible part. ‘ The 27th of June we landed upon the iſland of Orleans; but, ‘ receiving a meſſage from the Admiral, that there was reaſon to ‘ think the enemy had artillery and a force upon the Point de ‘ Levi, I detached Brigadier Monckton with four battalions to ‘ drive them from thence. He paſſed the river the 29th at night, ‘ and marched the next day to the Point; he obliged the enemy's ‘ irregulars to retire, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that poſt: the ‘ advanced parties, upon this occaſion, had two or three ſkirmiſhes ‘ with the Canadians and Indians, with little loſs on either ſide. ‘ Colonel Carleton marched with a detachment to the weſtermoſt ‘ Point of Orleans, whence our operations were likely to begin. ‘ It was abſolutely neceſſary to poſſeſs theſe two points, and fortify ‘ them; becauſe from either the one or the other the enemy might ‘ it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie in the baſon of Quebec, or even ‘ within two miles of it. Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected ‘ with great diſpatch on the Point of Levi, to bombard the town ‘ and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries: the enemy, ‘ perceiving theſe works in ſome forwardneſs, paſſed the river with ‘ ſixteen hundred men to attack and deſtroy them. Unluckily they ‘ fell into confuſion, fired upon one another, and went back again; ‘ by which we loſt an opportunity of defeating this large detach- ‘ ment. The effect of this artillery has been ſo great, though ‘ acroſs the river, that the upper town is conſiderably damaged, ‘ and the lower town intirely deſtroyed. The works, for the ‘ ſecurity of our hoſpitals and ſtores upon the iſle of Orleans, ‘ being finiſhed, on the 9th of July, at night, we paſſed the north ‘ channel, and incamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmo- ‘ rencie between us. The next morning Captain Danks's company ‘ of rangers, poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were at-

‘ tacked

'tacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had ſo many killed 1759.
'and wounded as to be almoſt diſabled for the reſt of the campaign: Sept.
'the enemy alſo ſuffered in this affair, and were, in their turn, dri-
'ven off by the neareſt troops. The ground to the eaſtward of
'the fall ſeemed to be, as it really is, higher than that on the
'enemy's ſide, and to command it in a manner that might be
'made uſeful to us. There is beſides a ford below the fall,
'which may be paſſed for ſome hours in the latter part of the
'ebb, and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes that
'poſſibly means might be found of paſſing the river above, ſo as
'to fight the Marquis de Montcalm upon terms of leſs diſadvantage
'than directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the
'river Montmorencie, we found it fordable at a place about three
'miles up; but the oppoſite bank was intrenched, and ſo ſteep and
'woody, that it was to no purpoſe to attempt a paſſage there.
'The eſcort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often
'repulſed; but in theſe rencounters we had forty, Officers and men,
'killed and wounded. The 18th of July two men of war, two
'armed ſloops, and two tranſports, with ſome troops on board,
'paſſed by the town without any loſs, and got into the upper
'river. This inabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where
'I found the ſame attention on the enemy's ſide, and great difficul-
'ties on our's, ariſing from the nature of the ground, and the
'obſtacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared
'moſt was, that, if we ſhould land between the town and the river
'Cape Rouge, the body firſt landed could not be reinforced, before
'they were attacked by the enemy's whole army. Notwithſtanding
'theſe difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael's,
'about three miles above the town: but, perceiving that the
'enemy jealous of the deſign, were preparing againſt it, and had
'actually brought artillery and a mortar, which, being ſo near to
'Quebec, they could increaſe as they pleaſe, to play upon the
'ſhipping; and as it muſt have been many hours before we could

1759. Sept. ‘ attack them, even ſuppoſing a favourable night for the boats to paſs ‘ by the town unhurt; it ſeemed ſo hazardous that I thought it beſt to ‘ deſiſt. However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their ‘ attention as high up the river as poſſible, and to procure ſome ‘ intelligence, I ſent a detachment, under the command of Colonel ‘ Carleton, to land at the Point de Tremble, to attack whatever ‘ he might find there, bring off ſome priſoners, and all the ‘ uſeful papers he could get. I had been informed, that a number ‘ of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that ‘ probably we ſhould find a magazine of proviſions there. The ‘ Colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians, the moment he ‘ landed; but they were ſoon diſperſed, and driven into the woods: ‘ he ſearched for magazines, but to no purpoſe; brought off ſome ‘ priſoners, and returned with little loſs. After this buſineſs I came ‘ back to Montmorencie, where I found that Brigadier Townſhend ‘ had, by a ſuperior fire, prevented the French from erecting a ‘ battery on the bank of the river, whence they intended to cannonade ‘ our camp. I now reſolved to take the firſt opportunity which ‘ preſented itſelf of attacking the enemy, though poſted to great ‘ advantage, and every-where prepared to receive us. As the men ‘ of war cannot, for want of ſufficient depth of water, come ‘ near enough to the enemy's intrenchments to annoy them in ‘ the leaſt, the Admiral had prepared two tranſports, drawing ‘ but little water, which, upon occaſion, could be run a-ground ‘ to favour a deſcent. With the help of theſe veſſels, which I ‘ underſtood would be carried by the tide cloſe in ſhore, I propoſed ‘ to make myſelf maſter of a detached redoubt near to the water's ‘ edge *, and whoſe ſituation appeared to be out of muſket-ſhot ‘ of the intrenchment upon the hill: if the enemy ſupported ‘ this detached piece, it would neceſſarily bring on an engagement, ‘ what we moſt wiſhed for; and, if not, I ſhould have it in my

* This place is called, by the French, Point de Leſt.

'power to examine their ſituation, ſo as to be able to determine 1759. Sept.
'where we could beſt attack them. Preparations were accordingly
'made for an engagement. The 31ſt of July, in the forenoon,
'the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of
'Brigadier Monckton's brigade from the Point of Levi: the two
'brigades under the Brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were or-
'dered to be in readineſs to paſs the ford, when it ſhould be thought
'neceſſary. To facilitate the paſſage of this corps, the Admiral
'had placed the Centurion in the channel, ſo that ſhe might check
'the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford: this
'ſhip was of great uſe, as her fire was very judiciouſly directed.
'A great quantity of artillery ſtores was placed upon the eminence,
'ſo as to batter and enfilade the left of their intrenchments. From
'the veſſel which ran a-ground, neareſt in, I obſerved that the
'redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great
'loſs; and the more, as the two armed ſhips could not be brought
'near enough to cover both with their artillery and muſketry,
'which I at firſt conceived they might. But, as the enemy ſeemed
'in ſome confuſion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought
'it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment.
'Orders were ſent to the Brigadiers General to be ready, with the
'corps under their command; Brigadier Monckton to land, and
'Brigadiers Townſhend and Murray to paſs the ford. At a proper
'time of the tide, the ſignal was made; but in rowing towards
'the ſhore many of the boats were grounded upon a ledge that
'runs off a conſiderable diſtance. This accident put us into ſome
'diſorder, loſt a great deal of time, and obliged me to ſend an
'Officer to ſtop Brigadier Townſhend's march, whom I then
'obſerved to be in motion. While the ſeamen were getting the
'boats off, the enemy fired a number of ſhot and ſhells, but did
'no conſiderable damage. As ſoon as this diſorder could be ſet
'a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner,
'ſome of the Officers of the navy went in with me, to find a better

'place

1759. Sept. ‘ place to land. We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make ‘ the experiment; and, as ſoon as we had found a fit part of the ‘ ſhore, the troops were ordered to diſembark, thinking it not yet ‘ too late for the attempt. The thirteen companies of grenadiers, ‘ and two hundred of the ſecond Royal American battalion, got firſt ‘ on ſhore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themſelves into ‘ four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by Brigadier ‘ Monckton's corps, as ſoon as the troops had paſſed the ford, and ‘ were at hand to aſſiſt. But, whether from the noiſe and hurry ‘ at landing, or from ſome other cauſe, the grenadiers, inſtead of ‘ forming themſelves as they were directed, ran on impetuouſly ‘ towards the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmoſt diſorder and ‘ confuſion, without waiting for the corps that was to ſuſtain them, ‘ and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and ‘ Brigadier Townſhend was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance, though ‘ upon his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers ‘ were checked by the enemy's firſt fire, and obliged to ſhelter ‘ themſelves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned ‘ upon their approach. In this ſituation they continued for ſome ‘ time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire, and having many gallant ‘ Officers wounded, who, careleſs of their perſons, had been ſolely ‘ intent upon their duty. I ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of calling ‘ them off, that they might form themſelves behind Brigadier ‘ Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on ‘ the beach, in extreme good order. By this new accident, and ‘ this ſecond delay, it was near night, and a ſudden ſtorm came ‘ on, and the tide began to make; ſo that I thought it moſt ad- ‘ viſable not to perſevere in ſo difficult an attack, leſt, in caſe of a re- ‘ pulſe, the retreat of Brigadier Townſhend's corps might be hazardous ‘ and uncertain. Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's ‘ left, where Brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were to have ‘ attacked; and it is probable that, if thoſe accidents I have ſpoken ‘ of had not happened, we ſhould have penetrated there, whilſt

‘ our

'our left and center, more remote from our artillery, must have borne 1759. Sept.
'all the violence of their musketry. The French did not attempt to
'interrupt our march. Some of their savages came down to
'murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to
'scalp the dead, as their custom is. The place where the attack
'was intended has these advantages over all others hereabout: our
'artillery could be brought into use, the greatest part, or even
'the whole of the troops, might act at once, and the retreat, in
'case of a repulse, was secure, at least for a certain time of the
'tide; neither one or other of these advantages can any-where
'else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a command-
'ing eminence; the beach upon which the troops were drawn up
'was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies; the
'hill to be ascended very steep, and not every-where practi-
'cable; the enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their
'fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly
'have been great, and their's inconsiderable, from the shelter
'which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river St.
'Charles remained still to be passed, before the town was invested.
'All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in
'conformity to the King's intentions induced me to make this
'trial, *persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.* The
'enemy have been fortifying ever since with care, so as to make
'a second attempt still more dangerous. Immediately after this
'check, I sent Brigadier Murray above the town, with twelve hundred
'men, directing him to assist Rear-Admiral Holmes in the destruc-
'tion of the French ships, if they could be got at, in order to open
'a communication with General Amherst. The Brigadier was
'to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the
'enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable
'terms; and to use all the means in his power to provoke them
'to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon
'the north shore, without success; but in a third was more fortu-

'nate.

1759. Sept. ‘ nate. He landed unexpectedly at de Chambaud, and burned a ‘ magazine there, in which were ſome proviſions, ſome ammunition, ‘ and all the ſpare ſtores, cloathing, arms, and baggage of their ‘ army. Finding that their ſhips were not to be got at, and little ‘ proſpect of bringing the enemy to a battle, he reported his ſitua- ‘ tion to me, and I ordered him to join the army. The priſoners ‘ he took informed him of the ſurrender of the fort of Niagara; ‘ and we diſcovered, by intercepted letters, that the enemy, having ‘ abandoned Carillon and Crown-Point, were retired to the iſle ‘ au Noix; and that General Amherſt was making preparations ‘ to paſs the lake Champlain, to fall upon Monſieur de Bourle- ‘ macque's corps, which conſiſts of three battalions of foot, and ‘ as many Canadians as make the whole amount to three thouſand ‘ men. The Admiral's diſpatches and mine would have gone eight ‘ or ten days ſooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a ‘ fever. I found myſelf ſo ill, and am ſtill ſo weak, that I begged ‘ the General Officers to conſult together for the public utility. ‘ *They are all of opinion*, that, as more ſhips and proviſions are now ‘ got above the town, they ſhould try, by conveying up a corps ‘ of four or five thouſand men, which is nearly the whole ſtrength ‘ of the army, after the Points of Levi and Orleans are left in ‘ a proper ſtate of defence, to draw the enemy from their preſent ‘ ſituation, and bring them to an action. *I have acquieſced in* ‘ *their propoſal*, and we are preparing to put it in execution. The ‘ Admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general ‘ aſſault; but, after conſulting with the chief Engineer, who is ‘ well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing ‘ it with the utmoſt attention, we found that, though the batteries ‘ of the lower town might be eaſily ſilenced by the men of war, ‘ yet the buſineſs of an aſſault would be little advanced by that, ‘ ſince the few paſſages leading from the lower to the upper town ‘ are carefully intrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be ‘ affected by the ſhips, which muſt receive conſiderable damage

‘ from

'from them, and from the mortars. The Admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success. To the uncommon strength of the country the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats; by the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side. — By the list of disabled Officers * (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation *there is such a choice of difficulties*, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave troops should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event; however, you may be assured, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his Majesty, and the interest of the nation; in which I am sure of being well seconded by the Admiral and by the Generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other parts of America.' 1759. Sept.

This morning, at six o'clock, the enemy marched two columns into the woods, northward of the left of their camp, as if they intended to cross the river of Montmorencie at the upper ford, and fall upon General Wolfe's rear, on his quitting that ground; which 3d.

* Colonels Burton and Fraser, Majors Irving and Prevost, sixteen Captains, twenty-four Lieutenants, and three Ensigns wounded; — three Captains, six Lieutenants, and one Ensign killed, between the 27th of June and the 2d of September.

1759. Sept. Brigadier Monckton perceiving, immediately ordered his brigade under arms: at eight o'clock a number of long-boats, being aſſembled, were ſent to us by the Admiral, and inſtantly the forty-third and ſeventy-eighth regiments embarked and rowed off, covered by ſloops and frigates half-channel over, in order to favour the General's motions; we remained near four hours on the water, and made ſeveral feints, as if intending to land and attack the enemy in the center of their camp at Beauport. This fineſſe had the deſired effect, for the columns were directly ordered back to their camp, and lined their breaſt-works, to oppoſe our imaginary deſcent, whereby General Wolfe and his troops embarked perfectly unmoleſted. After they had put off, a few ſtraggling French and Indians appeared in the abandoned camp; but the motive of their coming ſeemed rather to proceed from curioſity than from an hoſtile intention. As the boats croſſed the river, they were warmly ſaluted from the battery weſtward of the fall, without any accident; the forty-third and ſeventy-eighth regiments were ordered back to the camp. The Admiral had two buoys moored laſt night, to ſerve as guides to the boats off Beauport; which the enemy perceiving early in the morning, cut their cables, and ſent them a-drift. Four regiments, with all the light infantry, came to our ground; the other, with the grenadiers of Louiſbourg, remained on the iſle of Orleans; the light troops took poſt on the hills commanding the road to our batteries, and the battalions incamped between theſe eminences and the river. The General's markee, &c. were pitched in the interval between the forty-third and ſeventy-eighth regiments, and his Excellency dined in our camp: the Foy man of war is arrived in the fleet, with the ſtore-ſhips under her convoy. The General was heard to ſay, that he received a letter from General Amherſt, wherein he informed him, 'that Monſieur de Bourlemacque gave him ſome 'trouble, firſt at Ticonderoga, and afterwards at Crown-Point, 'until he drew up his artillery, and broke ground in order to attack 'him in form, which as ſoon as the enemy perceived, they aban-

'doned

'doned thoſe two important places and retired.' Mr. Wolfe added, 'that he did not yet deſpair of ſeeing the Commander in Chief 'here before the end of the campaign.' The garriſon threw ſome ſhot into the camp of the thirty-fifth regiment, which obliged them to change their ground. It is reported that Monſieur de Levis is detached from the camp at Beauport to command the troops at Point de Tremble, de Chambaud, Jaques Cartiers, and their dependencies: Monſieur Montcalm, it is added, from the increaſe of our naval ſtrength in the upper river, has reinforced thoſe poſts, leſt any farther attempts ſhould be made in that quarter. The wind is fair to paſs the town. Sept. 1759.

Upon the junction of the troops in this camp, the intire corps of light infantry, *viz.* thoſe under Major Dalling, and the others from the north ſide of the river, are to receive their orders from Colonel Howe; and additional guards are poſted in the front and on the flanks of the new camp.

We threw a few ſhells into the town, in the beginning of the night; ſince that time, all has remained quiet on both ſides. An expedition is on foot to the upper river, in which the greateſt part of the army, with our three Brigadiers, are to aſſiſt; the General will command in perſon, if his health will permit. The grenadiers of Louiſbourg are under orders to join us this evening from Orleans. The boats are to paſs the town this night, with the light baggage of the troops; fine weather and wind favourable. This forenoon two ranging Officers and four privates arrived expreſs from the Commander in Chief, whom they left at Crown-Point: this great journey was performed in twenty-ſeven days, and the rout they took was, firſt to Boſton, thence up Kennebec river, whence they directed their courſe to the Chaudiere, which diſcharges itſelf into the river St. Lawrence, about five leagues above Quebec; they met a few ſtraggling peaſants in different places, but did not moleſt them, leſt they ſhould alarm the country: one of theſe Canadians informed them, that our fleet and army were fallen down the river. All 4th.

1759. Sept. the intelligence which we have lately received by letters that were intercepted, deſerters, and other authorities, of the ſucceſs of our arms at Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Niagara, is confirmed by theſe expreſſes. A Captain of Fraſer's Highlanders, who died of a fever, was interred this evening in great form, between the colours of the regiments.

O R D E R S.

" The light infantry, twenty-eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-ſeventh, " fifty-eighth, and the grenadiers of Louiſbourg, with thoſe of " Monckton's regiment, are to march to-morrow, at two in the " afternoon; they are to receive their orders from Brigadier Mur- " ray: the parts of thoſe corps which are to remain are to incamp " on the ground now occupied by the Louiſbourg grenadiers. The " whole to be drawn up two deep; the Louiſbourg grenadiers on " the right, Bragg's on the left, and ſo on by ſeniority to the center: " the Brigadier propoſes marching from the center. Colonel Howe's " own diviſion of light infantry will form the van-guard, and co- " ver the head of the column; that of Major Dalling the rear-guard. " Two files will be detached from each platoon, in order to cover " their own flanks; when the woods are out of muſket-ſhot, they " are to keep near to the battalion; when they are within muſket- " ſhot, they are to march within the ſkirts, in the woods."

5th. Fair wind and weather to-day: the boats paſſed the town laſt night undiſcovered: the troops under orders, commanded by Brigadier Murray, marched this afternoon to Goreham's poſt, where the flat-bottomed boats are to meet them, to convey them on board the ſhips in the upper river. The houſes and faſcine works, in the abandoned camp by the fall of Montmorencie, ſtill continue burning. General Wolfe was much indiſpoſed laſt night; he is better to-day; but the army are, nevertheleſs, very apprehenſive, leſt his ill ſtate of health ſhould not permit him to command this grand enterpriſe in perſon.

perſon. The other regiments deſtined to go up the river are to move off to-morrow. A party of Highlanders were ſent out this evening in purſuit of ſome ſtraggling ſailors, who ventured to go marauding: in returning to camp, curioſity led ſome of them to look into the ruins of an old houſe, where, to their ſurpriſe, they found a French regular ſoldier whetting a knife, whom they immediately ſecured, and conducted him to the General *. 1759. Sept.

We had an uncommon ſtorm of rain laſt night; to-day ſhowery weather and wind variable. We fired warmly on the town theſe laſt eighteen hours, without a ſingle gun or ſhell in return. Yeſterday a marine went out to gather peaſe in a field adjoining to our advanced poſts on the hill, and was fired upon by ſix fellows, who appeared to be Indians; but, finding himſelf only ſlightly wounded, he made a ſhift to eſcape within our centries. At three o'clock this afternoon the fifteenth, forty-third, and ſeventy-eighth regiments, with the Brigadiers Monckton and Townſhend, marched to Goreham's poſt; at the ſame time a ſchooner, of a moſt diminutive ſize, whimſically called The Terror of France, weighed, and paſſed the town; the enemy fooliſhly expended a number of ſhot at her, but ſhe nevertheleſs got ſafe up, with her colours flying; and, coming to an anchor in the upper river, ſhe triumphantly ſaluted Admiral Holmes with a diſcharge from all her ſwivels; there was no other accident that happened, except one man's being ſlightly wounded on board, and our batteries fired briſkly on the town, to favour her as ſhe paſſed †. In the evening we arrived at Goreham's poſt, 6th.

* Whether this deſerter, for ſuch he pretended to be, was ſent, or came volunteer, to make an attempt on the General's life, is difficult to aſcertain: had his Excellency ſurvived the reduction of Quebec, this ſecret would probably have been diſcovered; it is certain he affected an ardent deſire to ſerve in our army, and was not only diſappointed, but ſeemed greatly mortified at being inſtantly conveyed on board the fleet.

† The Officers and Gunners at the enemy's batteries were provoked at this ſmall veſſel's preſumption in open day-light, which they captiouſly looked upon as a contemptuous

1759. Sept. poſt, where we lay on our arms until boats ſhould arrive. At night-fall we forded the river Etchemin, about fifty yards over, a ſtony and uneven bottom, and very ſlippery, with a rapid current; fortunately the waters were fallen, for we were not above mid-thigh; the troops, who paſſed yeſterday, found it much deeper, and our ſituation in fording was rendered diſagreeable by a battery which the enemy have at Sillery, oppoſite to the mouth of this rivulet, whence they cannonaded us, as we paſſed; but, luckily, their ſhot was either over or ſhort of us: on the weſt ſide ſtood a ſtraggling village, which terminated in a point, and formed a cove, where boats were ready to receive us, and conduct the regiments to their reſpective ſhips. The forty-third regiment was particularly fortunate, being put on board the Seahorſe frigate, where Captain Smith and his Officers entertained us in a moſt princely manner, and very obligingly made it their principal care to render our crouded ſituation as agreeable as poſſible. The General joined the army and upper fleet this night.

ORDERS.

At Anchor off Cape Rouge.

7th. "Brigadier Monckton's brigade conſiſts of the battalion of Am-
"herſt's, Lawrence's, and Kennedy's; Brigadier Townſhend's, of
"Bragg's Laſcelles's, and the Highlanders; the third brigade, un-

tuous affront upon their formidable batteries, many of our ſhips having paſſed them at different times without any conſiderable damage; but they paid dear for their reſentment; for, at the ſame inſtant, a ſhot from our batteries rendered one of their guns uſeleſs, overſet and diſcharged a number of loaded firelocks that were reſted againſt an adjoining wall, by which two of their Officers and ſeven men were killed on the ſpot, and four were wounded. The more generous Officers in the French camp politely expreſſed concern (as they afterwards told us) at the ſchooner's being fired upon, as they imagined her paſſing was the reſult of a frolicſome wager, and therefore would have diſregarded her.

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" der Brigadier Murray, of Otway's, Anſtruther's, and the Louiſ-
" bourg grenadiers. When the army is formed in two lines, the ſe-
" cond brigade makes the ſecond line; when the army is in a ſingle
" line, every regiment, or corps, is to have a fourth part in reſerve,
" about two hundred paces in its rear. When a brigade or batta-
" lion is in order of battle in the neighbourhood of any houſe, copſe,
" or ſtrong ground, either in its front, or upon its flank, care muſt
" be taken to throw a detachment into it. The light infantry have
" no fixed poſt in the order of battle; they will be thrown upon
" one or other of the wings, with a view to take the enemy's flank
" or rear, if occaſion offers. The General is too well acquainted
" with the valour and good inclination of the troops to doubt their
" behaviour; they know the enemy they have to deal with, *irregu-*
" *lar, cowardly, and cruel:* a little vigilance, however, is neceſſary
" to prevent ſurpriſes: the enemy will ſoon find that the artillery
" and muſketry of this choſen body of infantry is ſufficiently for-
" midable. The corps muſt keep together, and muſt not diſperſe
" nor wander about the country. When the coaſt has been ex-
" amined, and the beſt landing-places pitched upon, the troops will
" be ordered to diſembark, perhaps this night's tide. The five fol-
" lowing battalions are to hold themſelves in readineſs to go into
" the flat-bottomed boats, fifty in each boat, beſides Officers, *viz.*
" Amherſt's, Otway's, Kennedy's, Anſtruther's, and Colonel Mur-
" ray's corps of grenadiers.

" Diſtribution of the Flat-bottomed Boats.

	Boats.		Boats.
" Fifteenth, Amherſt's —	6	" Fifty-eighth, Anſtruther's	6
" Thirty-fifth, Otway's —	8	" Louiſbourg grenadiers —	6
" Forty-third, Kennedy's —	4		

" If there are more men in any corps than thoſe boats can hold,
" according to the regulation of fifty to a boat, they are to remain
" in

1759. Sept. " in their ſhips till farther orders; theſe battalions will receive their " orders from Brigadier Monckton, who has Brigadier Murray un- " der him. One hundred of the light infantry, under Major Huſ- " ſy's command, from on board the Sutherland, to be put in each " of the armed veſſels, when Brigadier Monckton's corps moves. " It is intended that the Hunter ſloop, the armed ſloops, the ar- " tillery ſloop, and the floating batteries, ſhall accompany the flat- " bottomed boats, when they take the troops on board. The corps " ordered for embarkation are to carry with them two days' provi- " ſions, which they are to receive immediately."

Fine warm weather: Admiral Holmes's ſquadron weighed early this morning; at ſix o'clock we doubled the mouth of the Chaudiere, which is near half a mile over; and at eight we came to an anchor off Cape Rouge; here is a ſpacious cove, into which the river St. Michael diſembogues, and within the mouth of it are the enemy's floating batteries; a large body of the enemy are well intrenched round the cove, (which is of a circular form) as if jealous of a deſcent in thoſe parts: they appear very numerous, and may amount to about one thouſand ſix hundred men, beſides their cavalry, who are cloathed in blue, and mounted on neat light horſes of different colours; they ſeem very alert, parading and counter-marching between the woods on the heights in their rear, and their breaſt-works, in order to make their numbers ſhew to greater advantage. The lands all round us are high and commanding, which gave the enemy an opportunity of popping at our ſhips, this morning, as we tacked in working up: I did not hear of any damage ſuſtained, though they were a little troubleſome. Upon our coming to an anchor, they turned out their floats, and ranged them in great order; their cavalry then diſmounted, formed on the right of the infantry, and their whole detachment ran down the precipice with a ridiculous ſhout, and manned their works. I have often reflected upon the abſurdity of this practice in the French, who entertain a high opinion of their own diſcipline and knowledge in the art of war; there

there is nothing that can be more abſurd than ſuch noiſes in engaging an enemy; I think it expreſſive of the greateſt diffidence, and muſt tend to defeat all regularity and good order among themſelves, becauſe their men are thereby confuſed, and are rendered incapable of paying attention to their Officers or their duty; — it is a falſe courage. How different, how nobly awful, and expreſſive of true valour is the cuſtom of the Britiſh troops! they do not expend their ammunition at an immenſe diſtance; and, if they advance to engage, or ſtand to receive the charge, they are ſteady, profoundly ſilent and attentive, reſerving their fire until they have received that of their adverſaries, over whom they have a tenfold advantage; there are caſes were huzzaing may be neceſſary, but thoſe are very rare; the practice is unmilitary in an army or body of regulars; and experience plainly ſhews us, that the troops, who, in perfect ſilence, engage an enemy, waiting for their firſt fire, will always preſerve a ſuperiority. This afternoon, at two o'clock, the Seahorſe, Leoſtaff, and two floating batteries, that were lately taken, were ordered to edge into the cove, and attack the enemy's armed floats; at the ſame time the troops put into their boats, and rowed up and down, as if intending to land at different places, to amuſe the enemy; the Brigadiers, no doubt, knew this was intended only as a *fineſſe*, but the corps thought they were, in reality, going a-ſhore; and ſuch was their zeal, that they were much diſappointed, when, after parading ſome time in this manner, they were ordered back to their ſhips; this ſeems calculated to fix the attention of the enemy on that particular part, while a deſcent is meditated elſewhere, perhaps lower down. Our frigates, &c. exchanged a number of ſhot, but at ſo great diſtance, that nothing extraordinary could happen; after this, the general Officers went up the river in the Hunter ſloop, to take a farther view of the country, and to reconnoitre the coaſt: they returned in their barge, at night, leaving the ſloop above at anchor. The enemy are very induſtrious in adding to their works, to render them more impregnable; 1759. Sept.

1759. Sept. pregnable; and they have an incredible number of fires at their poſt in our view, as well as in the cover on the eminence behind them.

8th. Wet weather, wind up the river: this morning, at day-break, a tranſport cat, two ſloops, and a ſchooner, paſſed the town with proviſions, &c. and were followed ſoon after by two other ſmall veſſels; they were all warmly cannonaded in their paſſage, and ſuſtained ſome damage. Orders are iſſued out this evening for the troops to land, and make a diverſion to-morrow morning at day-light; the corps to be in the boats at two o'clock; Colonel Young, with part of the army, are to work up, as if intending to land elſewhere; and the like feint is to be made by others at Cape Rouge bay, in order to favour Brigadier Monckton's brigade, who are to land, if poſſible.

AFTER ORDERS.

"Seeing that the weather ſets in bad, a ſignal will be made at "one o'clock to lie faſt, in caſe it does not clear up. The follow-"ing ſailing orders are to be obſerved.

ORDER of ſailing in boats.

North.

Floating Battery.	Louiſbourg Grenadiers.	Otway's.	Anſtruther's.	Amherſt's.	Floating Battery.
| Boat.	|| Boats.	|||| Boats.	||||| Boats.	|| Boats.	| Boat.

	Otway's.		Kennedy's.
	|||| Boats.		|||| Boats.

	Louiſbourg Grenadiers.	Amherſt's.
	|||| Boats.	|||| Boats.

"If

" If they ſail in one line, the floating battery at the left laids; 1759. Sept.
" if from the order they are in, from the left alſo. At landing
" the grenadiers are on the left, Amherſt's on the right; then grena-
" diers the left, Amherſt's the right; then Otway's left, Kennedy's
" right; Otway's left, Anſtruther's right; batteries on the flanks.
" In this order Otway's and Anſtruther's land firſt; in the center
" Amherſt's and grenadiers extend to the right and left."

O R D E R S.

" As the weather is ſo bad that no military operations can take 9th.
" place, and as the men are ſo exceſſively crowded in the tranſports,
" and in the men of war, ſo as to endanger their health; it is
" ordered that the under-mentioned troops be landed at the mill
" upon the ſouth ſhore, and that they may be cantoned in the
" village and church of St. Nicholas, in readineſs to embark at
" the firſt ſignal; the ſignal to march and embark by day will be
" two guns fired faſt, and two ſlow, from the Sutherland; the ſignal
" by night will be three lights at the main-top-gallant maſt-head
" of the ſame ſhip, and two guns.

	Men.
" From the Squirrel, Louiſbourg Grenadiers, Officers " in proportion - - - - - -	200
" From the Adventure tranſport, Otway's - -	250
" From the George tranſport, Anſtruther's - -	200
" From ditto, Highlanders - - - - - -	100
" From the Ann and Elizabeth, Bragg's - - -	160
" From ditto, Highlanders - - - - - -	100
" From the Sutherland, American Grenadiers - -	50
" From the Leoſtaff, Amherſt's - - - -	200
" From the Ward, Laſcelles's - - - -	160
" From ditto, Highlanders - - - - -	100
	1520

1759. Sept. " Brigadier Monckton takes the command of this corps, and " Brigadier Murray for this duty; the men to carry their blankets " and kettles, with two days' proviſions; they are to leave their " baggage on board their ſhips. The troops a-float report to " Brigadier Townſhend."

The extreme wetneſs of the weather prevented the operations intended for this morning. At eight o'clock the forty-third regiment was removed from the frigate on board the Employment tranſport, that the Seahorſe may fall down to preſerve the communication between Admiral Holmes's fleet and Goreham's poſt: this was ordered in conſequence of the Adjutant-General's being chaced by ſome canoes, as he came up in a boat this morning. The above detachments under the Brigadiers Monckton and Murray put off in their boats this afternoon, and rowed to the cove, as if intending to land; whereupon the enemy ſtood to their arms, and lined their works; after thus menacing them, in different places, the troops ſtretched over to the ſouth ſide, and landed in the evening under the church of St. Nicholas, without any oppoſition; the French floating batteries attempted to purſue the boats, but the Leoſtaff ſlipped her cable, exchanged ſeveral ſhot with them, and obliged them to ſheer off; late in the evening the wind ſhifted, and the weather cleared up.

10th. A ſmall party of Indians have croſſed the river to the neighbourhood of St. Nicholas, to endeavour to take a priſoner or two for intelligence; of which Brigadier Monckton being informed, he gave immediate notice to the troops under his command, and has taken every ſalutary meaſure to prevent his mens' being picked off or ſurpriſed. We have fair weather to-day. A parcel of canoes were diſcovered paddling along the north ſhore, as if intending to croſs the river above our fleet, in order to annoy our people on the ſouth ſide, and watch their motions; our two floating batteries, and ſome armed boats, were immediately diſpatched againſt them, and drove them a-ſhore; they then took to the buſhes, and fired at

our

our men; but our batteries plied them ſo well with grape-ſhot, that the raſcals were forced to ſcramble up the precipice, where there was a breaſt-work of corded fire-wood; they ſeemed to be fifty in number, and had an Officer of regulars with them. By the time they had gained the ſummit, and got under cover, they were reinforced, and diſcharged ſeveral vollies at our boats, who ſtill edged towards the ſhore, as if intending to land; and it is not improbable but they expected we ſhould make a deſcent there; for in a ſhort ſpace of time their numbers increaſed, and we could obſerve from our ſhips ſeveral Officers on horſe-back, who ſeemed to be employed in forming and animating their men. A ſignal being made, from the Sutherland, for our boats to come off, the enemy gave a heavy fire, and ſet up a hideous ſhout after it. General Wolfe ſent for an Officer and thirty men of the forty-third regiment, to eſcort him on a reconnoitre, with Brigadier Townſhend, the chief Engineer, Colonel Carleton, &c. For this purpoſe ſix of our grenadiers' coats were alſo ſent by his Excellency's orders. Brigadier Monckton, having notice of near three hundred head of black cattle being ſecreted in his neighbourhood, ſent out a ſtrong detachment in ſearch of them; but they did not ſucceed, the inhabitants having driven them off, a few excepted, farther up the country. The General, being informed of the indiſpoſition of two Officers on board a ſhip, of the forty-third regiment, 'expreſſed 'the greateſt tenderneſs and good-nature towards them; and deſired 'they would not continue on board, to endanger their conſtitutions; 'for that he would lend them his barge with pleaſure, to conduct 'them to Goreham's poſt, whence they ſhould have an eſcort to 'Point Levi camp.' The gentlemen politely declined the offer, 'aſſuring the General that no conſideration could induce them 'to leave the army, until they ſhould ſee the event of this ex-'pedition.' Some deſerters croſſed over from Montmorencie to Orleans, by whom we are informed, that Monſieur Vaudreuil, and part of the French army, are come up the river to watch our motions; 1759. Sept.

1759. Sept. motions; that the Sieur de Montcalm remains below, to defend the town; and that Monſieur de Levis, the ſecond in command, is detached to Montreal, with a large corps of choſen men from the army. The General, with his reconnoitring party, returned late in the evening from Goreham's point, where they had been with their glaſſes viewing the cove to the eaſtward of Sillery, and the eminences above it.

ORDERS.

11th. " The troops on ſhore, except the light infantry and Americans, " are to be upon the beach, to-morrow morning, at five o'clock, " in readineſs to embark; the light infantry and Americans will " reimbark at, or about, eight o'clock; the detachment of artillery " to be put on board the armed ſloop this day. *The army to hold* " *themſelves in readineſs to land and attack the enemy.* As the " Leoſtaff and Squirrel frigates are ordered to follow the flat- " bottomed boats, the troops belonging to thoſe ſhips are to remain " in them, and the boats intended for theſe corps are to take in " others, according to the following diſtribution.

DISTRIBUTION of the flat-bottomed boats to embark troops.

" Sterling-Caſtle	2	To take fifty into each boat of Bragg's regiment, out of the Ann and Elizabeth tranſport, inſtead of Amherſt's.
" Dublin	3	
" Alcide	1	
" Pembroke	4	To take in Kennedy's regiment out of the Employment tranſport.
" Van-Guard	4	To take in Colonel Howe's corps of light infantry out of the Jane and Mary tranſport.
" Trident	4	
" Centurion	2	To take in Anſtruther's out of the George tranſport.
" Shrewſbury	4	
" Medway	2	To take Laſcelles's regiment, in five boats, out of the Ward tranſport; and fifty of the Royal American Grenadiers, out of the Sutherland, in the ſixth boat.
" Captain	4	

1759. Sept.

" There remain to be taken into the boats of the fleet two " hundred Highlanders, of which the Terror of France ſchooner " takes fifty from the Ann and Elizabeth; the remaining one " hundred and fifty Highlanders, in the Ward tranſport, will " be taken by the following boats: — Sutherland's long-boat, forty; " Alcide and Medway, forty each; Admiral's flat-bottomed boat, " fifteen; Sutherland cutter, fifteen. — Ships that carry troops im- " mediately after the flat-bottomed boats: — Leoſtaff frigate, three " hundred of Amherſt's; Squirrel, two hundred and forty of Louiſ- " bourg Grenadiers; Seahorſe, two hundred and fifty Highlanders; " Hunter ſloop, one hundred and twenty Highlanders; three armed " veſſels, two hundred light infantry; Laurel tranſport, four hundred " Royal Americans; Adventure tranſport, four hundred of Otway's. " — Ordnance veſſels, with tools and artillery men: the George " tranſport to be evacuated, and the Highlanders, being one hun- " dred and fifty, to be removed into the Seahorſe frigate; and one " hundred of the ſame corps, from the Ann and Elizabeth, to be " removed alſo on board the Seahorſe to-morrow morning, after " the reimbarkation of the firſt body of troops from Brigadier " Monckton's corps, at St. Nicholas.

ORDER of troops in the line of boats.

Number of Boats.		
" 8	1ſt	light infantry leads.
" 6	2d	Bragg's regiment.
" 4	3d	Kennedy's regiment.
" 5	4th	Laſcelles's ditto.
" 6	5th	Anſtruther's ditto.
" 1	6th	Detachments of Highlanders and American Grenadiers.

" Captain

1759. Sept. " Captain Chads, of the navy, has received the General's direct into " in reſpect to the order in which the troops move, and are to land; " and no Officer muſt attempt to make the leaſt alteration, or " interfere with Captain Chad's particular province, leſt, as the " boats move in the night, there may be diſorder and confuſion " among them. The troops muſt go into the boats about nine " to-morrow night, or when it is pretty near high water; but the " naval Officers, commanding the different diviſions of boats, will " apprize them of the fitteſt time; and, as there will be a neceſſity " for remaining ſome part of the night in the boats, the Officers " will provide accordingly; and the ſoldiers will have a jill of rum " extraordinary to mix with their water; arms and ammunition, " two days' proviſions, with rum and water, are all that the " ſoldiers are to take into the boats; their ſhips, with their blankets, " tents, &c. will ſoon be brought up.

SIGNALS.

" Firſt, For the flat-bottomed boats, with the troops on board, " to rendezvous a-breaſt of the Sutherland, between her and the " ſouth ſhore, keeping near her: — one light in the Sutherland's " main top-maſt ſhrouds.

" Secondly, When they are to drop away from the Sutherland, " — ſhe will ſhew two lights in the main top-maſt ſhrouds, one " over the other. The men to be quite ſilent, and, when they " are about to land, muſt not, upon any account, fire out of the " boats; the Officers of the navy are not to be interrupted in " their part of the duty; they will receive their orders from the " Officer appointed to ſuperintend the whole, to whom they are " anſwerable. Officers of artillery, and detachments of Gunners, " are put on board the armed ſloops to regulate their fire, that, in " the hurry, our troops may not be hurt by our own artillery; " Captain York, and the Officers, will be particularly careful to " diſtinguiſh the enemy, and to point their fire againſt them; the

" frigates

" frigates are not to fire till broad day-light, ſo that no miſtake 1759. Sept.
" can be made: the Officers commanding floating batteries will
" receive particular orders from the General. The troops to be
" ſupplied to-morrow with proviſions to the 14th. The troops
" ordered for the firſt embarkation to be under arms at the head-
" quarters to-morrow morning at four o'clock."

An Officer of the forty-third regiment was ſent a-ſhore to St. Nicholas, to endeavour to procure ſome freſh proviſions, but could not ſucceed, the troops not having ſufficient for themſelves; the party that went in ſearch of cattle found only ſeven cows and two ſheep, guarded by a few Indian men and women, upon whom our advanced-guard too eagerly fired, before they were within reach, by which the rabble made their eſcape, ſhouting and yelling in their flight, intending thereby to alarm the country. Great preparations are making, throughout the fleet and army, to ſurpriſe the enemy, and compel them to decide the fate of Quebec by a battle: all the long-boats below the town are to be filled with ſeamen, marines, and ſuch detachments as can be ſpared from Points Levi and Orleans, in order to make a feint off Beauport and the Point de Leſt, and endeavour to engroſs the attention of the Sieur de Montcalm, while the army are to force a deſcent on this ſide of the town. The Officer of our regiment, who commanded the eſcort yeſterday on the reconnoitring party, being aſked, in the General's hearing, after the health of one of the gentlemen who was reported to be ill, replied, — 'he was in a very low indifferent ſtate;' which the other lamented, ſaying, 'he has but a puny, delicate conſtitution.' — This ſtruck his Excellency, it being his own caſe, who interrupted, 'Don't tell me of conſtitution, that Officer has good ſpirits, and 'good ſpirits will carry a man through every thing.'

A ſoldier of the Royal Americans deſerted this day from the ſouth 12th.
ſhore, and one came over to us from the enemy, who informed the General, 'that he belonged to a detachment compoſed of two Officers 'and fifty men, who had been ſent acroſs the river to take a priſoner;

1759. Sept. ‘ that the French Generals ſuſpect we are going higher up, to lay ‘ waſte the country, and deſtroy ſuch ſhips and craft as they have ‘ got above; and that Monſieur Montcalm will not be prevailed on ‘ to quit his ſituation, inſiſting that the flower of our army are ſtill ‘ below the town; that the reduction of Niagara has cauſed great ‘ diſcontent in the French army, that the wretched Canadians are ‘ much diſſatisfied, and that Monſieur de Levis is certainly marched, ‘ with a detachment of the army, to Montreal, in order to rein- ‘ force Mr. Bourlemacque, and ſtop General Amherſt's progreſs.’ This fellow added, ‘ that, if we were fairly landed on the north ‘ ſide of the river, an incredible number of the French regulars ‘ would actually deſert to us.’ — In conſequence of this agreeable ‘ intelligence, the following orders were this day iſſued to the army.

ORDERS.

On board the Sutherland.

“ The enemy's force is now divided, great ſcarcity of proviſions “ now in their camp, and univerſal diſcontent among the Canadians; “ the ſecond Officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, “ which gives reaſon to think, that General Amherſt is advancing “ into the colony: *a vigorous blow ſtruck by the army at this juncture* “ *may determine the fate of Canada.* Our troops below are in readi- “ neſs to join us; all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the “ point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French ſeem “ leaſt to expect it. The firſt body that gets on ſhore is to march “ directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little poſt they “ may occupy; the Officers muſt be careful that the ſucceeding “ bodies do not, by any miſtake, fire upon thoſe who go on be- “ fore them. The battalions muſt form on the upper ground with “ expedition, and be ready to charge whatever preſents itſelf. When “ the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to ſecure the “ landing-place, while the reſt march on, and endeavour to bring the

“ French

" French and Canadians to a battle. *The Officers and men will re-* 1759. Sept.
" *member what their country expects from them, and what a deter-*
" *mined body of ſoldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, againſt*
" *five weak French battalions, mingled with a diſorderly peaſantry.*
" The ſoldiers muſt be attentive and obedient to their Officers, and
" reſolute in the execution of their duty."

The Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, with the troops under their command, reimbarked this day, from the pariſh of St. Nicholas, and returned to their ſhips. This evening all the boats of the fleet below the town were filled with marines, &c. &c. covered by frigates and ſloops of war, worked up, and lay half-channel over, oppoſite to Beauport, as if intending to land in the morning, and thereby fix the enemy's whole attention to that quarter; the ſhips attending them are to edge over, at break of day, as near as poſſible without grounding, and cannonade the French intrenchments. At nine o'clock this night, our army in high ſpirits, the firſt diviſion of them put into the flat-bottomed boats, and, in a ſhort time after, the whole ſquadron moved up the river with the tide of flood, and, about an hour before day-light next morning, we fell down with the ebb. Weather favourable, a ſtar-light night.

BATTLE OF QUEBEC.

Thurſday, September 13, 1759.

Before day-break this morning we made a deſcent upon the 13th.
north ſhore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eaſtward of Sillery; and the light troops were fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond; we had, in this debarkation, thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about ſixteen hundred men. This was a great ſurpriſe on the enemy, who, from the natural ſtrength of the place, did not ſuſpect, and conſequently were not prepared againſt, ſo bold an attempt. The chain of centries, which they had poſted along the ſummit of the

1759. Sept. heights, galled us a little, and picked off ſeveral men *, and ſome Officers, before our light infantry got up to diſlodge them †. This grand enterpriſe was conducted, and executed with great good order and diſcretion; as faſt as we landed, the boats put off for reinforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity: the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were a-ſhore with the firſt diviſion. We loſt no time here, but clambered up one of the ſteepeſt precipices that can be conceived, being almoſt a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As ſoon as we gained the ſummit, all was quiet, and not a ſhot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe; it was by this time clear day-light. Here we formed again, the river and the ſouth country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes ‡. The General then detached the light troops to our left to route the enemy from their battery, and to diſable their guns, except they could be rendered ſerviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this ſervice was ſoon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham; an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we ſtood forming upon the hill. Weather ſhowery: about ſix o'clock

* In the boat where I was, one man was killed; one ſeaman, with four ſoldiers, were ſlightly, and two mortally wounded.

† Captain Donald M'Donald, a very gallant Officer, of Fraſer's Highlanders, commanded the advanced-guard of the light infantry, and was, conſequently, among the foremoſt on ſhore; as ſoon as he and his men gained the height, he was challenged by a centry, and, with great preſence of mind, from his knowledge of the French ſervice, anſwered him according to their manner: it being yet dark, he came up to him, told him he was ſent there, with a large command, to take poſt, and deſired him to go with all ſpeed to his guard, and to call off all the other men of his party who were ranged along the hill, for that he would take care to give a good account of the B— Anglois, if they ſhould perſiſt; this *fineſſe* had the deſired effect, and ſaved us many lives, &c.

‡ *The hill they climb'd, and halted at its top, of more than mortal ſize:*
Tow'ring they ſeem'd, an hoſt angelic, clad in burning arms!

the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle *. The first disposition then was: "Grenadiers of Louisbourg on the right, forty-seventh regiment "on the left, twenty-eighth on the right, and the forty-third on "the left;" part of the light infantry took post in the houses at Sillery, and the remainder occupied a chain of houses which were opportunely situated for that purpose, and covered our left flank, inclining towards our rear; the General then advanced some platoons from the grenadiers and twenty-eighth regiment below the height on our right, to annoy the enemy, and prevent their getting round the declivity between us and the main river, which they had attempted. By this time the fifteenth and thirty-fifth regiments joined us, who formed a second line, and were soon after followed by the forty-eighth and fifty-eighth, two battalions of the sixtieth and seventy-eighth regiments, (Highlanders) by which a new disposition was made of the whole; *viz.* 'first line, thirty-fifth to the 'right, in a circular form on the slope of the hill; fifty-eighth, left; 'grenadiers, right; seventy-eighth, left; twenty-eighth, right; for-'ty-seventh, left; forty-third, in the center.' General Wolfe, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, to our front line; and the second was composed of the fifteenth, and two battalions of the sixtieth regiment, under Brigadier Townshend, with a reserve of the forty-eighth regiment, under Colonel Burton, drawn up in four grand divisions, with large intervals. The enemy had now likewise formed

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* Quebec was then to the eastward of us in front, with the enemy under its walls. Our right was flanked by the declivity and the main river to the southward, and what is called the lower road leading (westward) from the town, with the river Charles and the north country, were on our left. If the reader will attend to this description, observing the cardinal points, he may thereby form as lively an idea of the field of battle as if a plan were laid before him; and, though our first disposition was afterwards altered, yet our situation, with that of the enemy, and the scene of action, could not vary.

the

1759. Sept. the line of battle, and got ſome cannon to play on us, with round and caniſter-ſhot; but what galled us moſt was a body of Indians and other markſmen they had concealed in the corn oppoſite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that ſtood oppoſite to our center, inclining towards our left; but the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced ſome platoons, alternately, from the forty-ſeventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged theſe ſculkers to retire: we were now ordered to lie down, and remained ſome time in this poſition. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of ſhort braſs ſix-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into ſome confuſion, and obliged them to alter their diſpoſition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns; about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were ſoon beat off, and Monſieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our ſecond line, hoping to penetrate there; but, by a maſterly diſpoſition of Brigadier Townſhend, they were forced to deſiſt, and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the firſt ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preſerve the communication with the beach and our boats. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briſkly in three columns, with loud ſhouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the diſtance of one hundred and thirty—, until they came within forty yards; which our troops withſtood with the greateſt intrepidity and firmneſs, ſtill reſerving their fire, and paying the ſtricteſt obedience to their Officers: this uncommon ſteadineſs, together with the havoc which the grape-ſhot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into ſome diſorder, and was moſt critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy diſcharge of our ſmall arms,

ſuch

ſuch as they could no longer oppoſe * ; hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, ſo that, by the time the cloud of ſmoke was vaniſhed, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, purſued them almoſt to the gates of the town, and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerneſs, making many Officers and men priſoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm ſun-ſhine : the Highlanders chaced them vigorouſly towards Charles's river, and the fifty-eighth to the ſuburb cloſe to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks ; at the ſame time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-ſhot, galled the progreſs of the regiments to the right, who were likewiſe purſuing with equal ardour, while Colonel Hunt Walſh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a ſtand, as if willing to renew the action ; but a few platoons from theſe corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townſhend came up, called off the purſuers, ordered the whole line to dreſs, and recover their former ground. Our joy at this ſucceſs is inexpreſſibly damped by the loſs we ſuſtained of one of the greateſt heroes which this or any other age can boaſt of, — GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, who received his mortal wound, as he was exerting himſelf at the head of the grenadiers of Louiſ- 1759. Sept.

* When the General formed the line of battle, he ordered the regiments to load with an additional ball. The forty-third and forty-ſeventh regiments, in the center, being little affected by the oblique fire of the enemy, gave them, with great calmneſs, as remarkable a cloſe and heavy diſcharge, as I ever ſaw performed at a private field of exerciſe, inſomuch that better troops than we encountered could not poſſibly withſtand it : and, indeed, well might the French Officers ſay, that they never oppoſed ſuch a ſhock as they received from the center of our line, for that they believed every ball took place, and ſuch regularity and diſcipline they had not experienced before ; our troops in general, and particularly the central corps, having levelled and fired,—*comme une coup de canon.*

bourg ;

1759. Sept. bourg; and Brigadier Monckton was unfortunately wounded upon the left of the forty-third, and right of the forty-ſeventh regiment, at much the ſame time; whereby the command devolved on Brigadier Townſhend, who, with Brigadier Murray, went to the head of every regiment, and returned thanks for their extraordinary good behaviour, congratulating the Officers on our ſucceſs. There is one incident very remarkable, and which I can affirm from my own perſonal knowledge, — that the enemy were extremely apprehenſive of being rigorouſly treated; for, conſcious of their inhuman behaviour to our troops upon a former occaſion, the Officers who fell into our hands moſt piteouſly (with hats off) ſued for quarter, repeatedly declaring they were not at Fort William Henry (called by them Fort St. George) in the year 1757. A ſoldier of the Royal Americans, who deſerted from us this campaign, and fought againſt us to-day, was found wounded on the field of battle; he was immediately tried by a general court-martial, and was ſhot to death, purſuant to his ſentence. While the two armies were engaged this morning, there was an inceſſant firing between the town and our ſouth batteries. By the time that our troops had taken a little refreſhment, a quantity of intrenching tools were brought a-ſhore, and the regiments were employed in redoubting our ground, and landing ſome cannon and ammunition. The Officers who are priſoners ſay, that Quebec will ſurrender in a few days: ſome deſerters, who came out to us in the evening, agree in that opinion, and inform us, that the Sieur de Montcalm is dying, in great agony, of a wound he received to-day in their retreat. Thus has our late renowned Commander, by his ſuperior eminence in the art of war, and a moſt judicious *coup d'etat*, made a conqueſt of this fertile, healthy, and hitherto formidable country, with a handful of troops only, in ſpite of the political ſchemes, and moſt vigorous efforts, of the famous Montcalm, and many other Officers of rank and experience, at the head of an army conſiderably more numerous. My pen is too feeble to draw the character of this *Britiſh Achilles*; but the

the ſame may, with juſtice, be ſaid of him as was ſaid of Henry IV. of France : *He was poſſeſſed of courage, humanity, clemency, generoſity, affability, and politeneſs.* And though the former of theſe happy ingredients, how eſſential ſoever it may be in the compoſition of a ſoldier, is not alone ſufficient to diſtinguiſh an expert Officer; yet, I may, with ſtrict truth, advance, that Major General James Wolfe, by his great talents, and martial diſpoſition, which he diſcovered early in life, was greatly ſuperior to his experience in generalſhip, and was by no means inferior to a Frederic, a Henry, or a Ferdinand. 1759. Sept.

" When the matter match'd his mighty mind,
" Up roſe the Hero : on his piercing eye
" Sat obſervation, on each glance of thought
" Deciſion follow'd, as the thunderbolt
" Purſues the flaſh."

The ſtrength of our army, this day in the action, will beſt appear by the following return ; to which I ſhall ſubjoin that of the enemy, as delivered to me afterwards by an intelligent Frenchman.

1759. Sept.

OFFICERS present; Rank and File, &c.

Number of Corps.	Regiments.	Commiſſioned. Colonels.	Lieutenant-Col	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Enſigns.	Staff. Adjutants.	Quarter Maſters	Surgeons.	Mates.	N. Com. Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks, including General Officers, &c.	
15th	Amherſt's	1	0	1	4	15	5	0	0	1	0	21	6	352	406	
28th	Bragg's	1	0	1	5	9	8	0	0	1	0	23	11	362	421	
35th	Otway's	0	1	1	5	11	8	1	1	1	0	23	11	456	519	
43d	Kennedy's	0	0	1	6	6	4	1	1	0	0	17	11	280	327	
47th	Laſcelles's	0	1	0	5	8	8	0	0	0	0	31	2	305	360	
48th	Webb's	0	1	0	4	16	7	1	0	1	1	33	14	605	683	
58th	Anſtruther's	0	1	1	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	20	0	296	335	
60th	Monckton's	1	0	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	26	15	266	322	
	Lawrence's	0	1	0	4	11	8	0	0	0	0	28	14	474	540	
78th	Fraſer's	0	0	0	7	12	7	1	0	0	0	28	14	603	662	
22d 40th 45th	Louiſbourg Companies of Grenad.	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	9	4	216	241	
	Total	3	6	5	48	109	67	5	2	4	1	259	102	4215	4816	4828

One Major-General, three Brigadiers-General, one Quarter-Maſter-General, one Aid Quarter-Maſter-General, one Adjutant-General, four Majors of Brigade, two Aids de Camp.

STATE of the FRENCH ARMY.

Right Column.		Center Column.		Left Column.	
Troupes de Colonie	550	Regiment de Berne	360	Royale Rouſillon	650
Regiment de la Sarre	500	Regiment de Guienne	360	La Colonie	650
Reg. de Languedoc	550	Des Milices	1200	Des Milices	2300
Des Milices, and one fix-pounder	400				
	2000		1920		3600

Monſieur

Monſieur de Bougainville's corps, from Cape Rouge, conſiſting of five companies of grenadiers, cavalry, Canadian volunteers, ſavages, and militia, two thouſand and ſixty; total of the enemy nine thouſand five hundred and eighty. 1759. Sept.

Deſerters, who are come over to us ſince the action, inform us, that it was very difficult to perſuade Monſieur de Montcalm, and the other Commanders, that the flower of our army were behind the town; and, after the Marquis had marched his troops over the river Charles, and taken a view of us, he ſaid, — 'They 'have at laſt got to the weak ſide of this miſerable garriſon, there-'fore we muſt endeavour to cruſh them with our numbers, *and* '*ſcalp them all before twelve o'clock.*' — Every coppice, buſh, or other cover, that ſtood on our ground this morning, were cut down before night, and applied to the uſe of our new works; the houſes were all fortified, and ſeveral redoubts thrown up round our camp, which is about one thouſand yards from the garriſon, before ten o'clock.

ORDERS.

"Parole, Wolfe; counterſign, England."

"The remaining General Officers, fit to act, take the earlieſt 14th.
"opportunity to expreſs the praiſe which is due to the conduct
"and bravery of the troops; and the victory, which attended it,
"ſufficiently proves the ſuperiority which this army has over any
"number of ſuch troops as they engaged yeſterday; *they wiſh that*
"*the perſon who lately commanded them had ſurvived ſo glorious a*
"*day, and had this day been able to give the troops theſe juſt encomiums.*
"The fatigues which the troops will be obliged to undergo, to
"reap the advantage of this victory, will be ſupported with a true
"ſpirit, as this ſeems to be the period which will determine, in
"all probability, our American labours; the troops are to receive
"a jill of rum per day, and will receive freſh proviſions the day

1759. Sept. " after to-morrow. The regiments and corps to give returns " of their killed and wounded yeſterday, and the ſtrength of their " corps. The pioneers of the different regiments to bury the " dead: the corps are to ſend all their tools, not immediately " in uſe, to the artillery park. All French papers, or letters found, " are deſired to be ſent to the head quarters. No ſoldier to preſume " to ſtrole beyond the out-poſts. Arms that cannot be drawn are to be " fired into the ſwamp, near the head quarters. The Admiral has " promiſed the continuance of all the aſſiſtance which the naval ſer- " vice can ſpare, to eaſe the troops of the fatigues which the farther " operations will require of us. General Townſhend has the ſatiſ- " faction to acquaint the troops, that General Monckton's wound " is not dangerous; the Commanding Officers of the corps will " order the rolls to be called every half-hour, to prevent ma- " rauding, &c. &c."

Laſt night Brigadier Townſhend went, with a detachment of two hundred men, to the French general hoſpital, ſituated on the river Charles, and about a mile from the town; this is a convent of nuns of the Auguſtine order, who, — from principles of charity and piety, — take care of all ſick and wounded men and Officers; lands are appropriated for the ſupport of this inſtitution; beſides which, the French King endows it with a yearly ſalary, and a table is kept there at his expence for convaleſcent Officers, Directors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, &c. &c. The Brigadier found an Officer's guard at the convent, but he immediately took poſſeſſion of the place, by poſting a Captain's command there; the unfortunate Marquis de Montcalm was then in the houſe, dying of his wound, attended by the Biſhop and his Chaplains. A tranſport, a ſchooner, and a parcel of boats, with ordnance and ſtores, paſſed the town laſt night; the enemy fired briſkly on them, but without any effect. The garriſon appear to be at work upon their ramparts, as if reſolved to prolong the ſiege. Some deſerters, who came out to us this day, inform us, that Monſieur de Levis, who has rejoined and col-

" lected

lected their ſhattered forces, had intended to ſurpriſe the rear of our camp at day-break this morning, but, upon reconnoitring our ſituation, and finding we had made ſuch excellent uſe of our time, in erecting redoubts and other works, prudently declined the undertaking. The Sieur * de Montcalm died late laſt night; when his wound was dreſſed, and he ſettled in bed, the Surgeons who attended him were deſired to acquaint him ingenuouſly with their ſentiments of him, and, being anſwered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, 'he was glad of it:' his Excellency then demanded,— 'whether he could ſurvive it long, and how long?' He was told, 'about a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure leſs.' 'So 'much the better,' rejoined this eminent warrior; 'I am happy I 'ſhall not live to ſee the ſurrender of Quebec.' He then ordered his Secretary into the room to adjuſt his private affairs, which as ſoon as they were diſpatched, he was viſited by Monſieur de Ramſey, the French King's Lieutenant, and by other principal Officers, who deſired to receive his Excellency's commands, with the farther meaſures to be purſued for the defence of Quebec, the capital of Canada. To this the Marquis made the following anſwer, — 'I'll 'neither give orders, nor interfere any farther; I have much buſineſs 'that muſt be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garri- 'ſon and this wretched country: my time is very ſhort, — therefore 'pray leave me—I wiſh you all comfort, and to be happily extricated 'from your preſent perplexities.' He then called for his Chaplain, who, with the Biſhop of the colony, remained with him till he expired. Some time before this great man departed, we are aſſured he paid us this compliment, — 'Since it was my misfortune to be diſcom- 'fited, and mortally wounded, it is a great conſolation to me to 'be vanquiſhed by ſo brave and generous an enemy: If I could

1759. Sept.

* The appointments of this great man, as Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. did not exceed a thouſand ſols per day; and I have been credibly informed that all his other emoluments did not amount to more than the like ſum; the whole equivalent to about nine hundred and thirty pounds ſterling, per annum.

'ſurvive

1759. Sept. ‘ ſurvive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the num-
‘ ber of ſuch forces as I commanded this morning, with a third of
‘ their number of Britiſh troops.’

We are drawing artillery and ammunition a-ſhore, with all expedition; in which we are much favoured, at preſent, by the weather, and have found a convenient road for the purpoſe, leading directly from the cove to the camp; — this is the place that had been intended for our deſcent yeſterday, but, the morning being dark, and the tide of ebb very rapid, we were imperceptibly carried a little lower down, which proved a favourable circumſtance; for there was a ſtrong intrenchment that covered the road, lined by a detachment of one hundred and fifty men. It is ſtill much more fortunate that the General had not deferred the execution of his project to another day; for two French regiments, with a corps of ſavages, were actually under orders of readineſs to march at ſix o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, and intrench themſelves immediately along the heights; but happily our troops were in poſſeſſion of that ground, before the enemy had any thoughts of ſtirring. Several men and Officers wounded to-day in camp, by ſhot and ſhells from the town. The French regulars, in the late engagement, fired ſlugs of lead and iron from their ſmall arms; ſome of them were found in the ſhot-pouches of the Officers that were made priſoners, who, being challenged upon this ſubject, replied, with a ſignificant ſhrug, — ‘ It was their cuſtom, without any ill
‘ deſign.’ A flag of truce came from the garriſon this afternoon, requeſting permiſſion to bury their dead; all that were within our reach we had interred before. — Brigadier Monckton took the opportunity in this ceſſation to paſs the town to his tent at Point Levi, of which notice was ſent to the Governor and to our batteries on the ſouth ſhore.

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded, to the rear of the front line, he deſired thoſe who were about him to lay him down; being aſked if he would have

a Surgeon? he replied, 'it is needleſs; it is all over with me.' One of them then cried out, 'they run, ſee how they run.' 'Who 'runs!' demanded our hero, with great earneſtneſs, like a perſon rouſed from ſleep? The Officer anſwered, 'The enemy, Sir; Egad 'they give way every-where.' Thereupon the General rejoined, '*Go 'one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton —; tell him to march Webb's 'regiment with all ſpeed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat 'of the fugitives from the bridge.*' Then, turning on his ſide, he added, '*Now, God be praiſed, I will die in peace:*' and thus expired *. 1759. Sept.

——————— *Quis* ———————

Myrmidonum, Dolopumque, aut duri miles Ulyſſei,
Temperet a lachrymis?

This reſignation, and greatneſs of ſoul, calls to my remembrance an almoſt ſimilar ſtory of Epaminondas, the Theban General; who, having received in fight a mortal wound with a ſword, which was left in his body, lay in that poſture till he received intelligence that his troops had obtained a victory, and then permitted it to be drawn out, ſaying, at that inſtant, 'This is not the end of my life, my 'fellow-ſoldiers; it is now your Epaminondas was born, who dies 'in ſo much glory.'

Wet weather to-day: more deſerters coming out to us, they inform us, that Monſieur de Ramſey, who commands in the town, 15th.

* Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his laſt words, and the Officers into whoſe hands he fell: and many, from a vanity of talking, claimed the honour of being his ſupporters, after he was wounded; but the foregoing circumſtances were aſcertained to me by Lieutenant Brown, of the grenadiers of Louiſbourg, and the twenty-ſecond regiment, who, with Mr. Henderſon, a volunteer in the ſame company, and a private man, were the three perſons who carried his Excellency to the rear; which an artillery Officer ſeeing, immediately flew to his aſſiſtance; and theſe were all that attended him in his dying moments. *I do not recollect the artillery Officer's name, or it ſhould be chearfully recorded here.*

and

1759. Sept. and the principal Officers of the garriſon, are ſettling the preliminaries for a capitulation; that the Indians have robbed one of their beſt ſtore-houſes, and are gone off to their reſpective diſtricts; that the citizens and Canadians in general are much diſſatisfied, and impatient to have the town delivered up to us. A Canadian was taken in arms by a party of Highlanders; they found him concealed in the buſhes to the left of the road, leading from the cove: he ſaid he had been there ſince the evening, previous to our landing; and was afraid to attempt his eſcape from that place, though famiſhing with cold and hunger, leſt he ſhould not get quarter, if he were taken. He was ſent on board a ſhip immediately, to join the other priſoners. We are landing more battering cannon and ſtores, which the ſailors and marines are drawing up to our camp. We are conſiderably annoyed by ſhot and ſhells from the town, nevertheleſs we are ſpiritedly rendering our works more defenſible: two thouſand men are employed in making faſcines and gabions, to inable us to carry on approaches. A parcel of ſailors, going to ſome houſes on the beach under Cape Diamond, in ſearch of plunder, were fired upon, and made priſoners. The enemy have brought up a mortar to their ſouth-weſt baſtion to bombard our ſhips above the town, and have thrown ſeveral ſhells for that purpoſe, without any effect. The wind ſhifted to the N. W. this evening, and the weather cleared up; three deſerters eſcaped to our camp at night-fall.

The enemy acknowledge to have had near fifteen hundred, killed, wounded, and priſoners, on the 13th inſtant; among the latter, which amounted to almoſt three hundred, are included one Lieutenant-Colonel, nine Captains, five firſt and ſecond Lieutenants, and two Cadets. Beſides Monſieur de Montcalm, the two next in command were alſo killed, viz. Monſieur de Seneſergue and Monſieur de St. Ours, Brigadiers. This great loſs fell moſtly on their regular troops.

A LIST

A LIST of the Killed, Wounded, and Miſſing, on the 13th of September. 1759. Sept. 15th.

Regiments.	Killed.					Wounded.						Miſſing	Artillery			Staff.					
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Enſigns.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Enſigns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Rank and File.	Bombardiers.	Gunners.	Matroſſes.	Maj. General.	Brigadiers.	Q. Maſt. Gen.	Adjutant-Gen.	Majors Brigad.	Aids de Camp.	Engineers.
15th.	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	5	0	52	0									
28th.	0	1	0	1	3	3	1	1	4	1	39	0									
35th.	0	1	0	0	6	2	4	0	1	0	28	0									
43d.	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	2	2	0	18	2									
47th.	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	2	1	2	26	0									
48th.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0									
58th.	0	0	1	1	8	2	1	1	3	0	80	0									
60 2d B.	0	0	0	0	5	1	3	2	2	1	80	1									
60 3d B.	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0									
78th.	1	2	0	1	14	2	5	3	7	0	131	2									
Lou. Gr.	0	1	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0	47	0									
Total	1	6	1	3	47	14	26	11	25	4	506	5	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

All ranks killed, wounded, and miſſing, ſix hundred and ſixty-four.

Cloudy weather, and blows freſh. About ten o'clock laſt night the enemy beat a chamade, and an Officer was ſent to the General; we flattered ourſelves they were about to capitulate, but it was only to requeſt permiſſion to ſend their women and children, over Charles's river, into the country; which was generouſly granted. We profited by this ceſſation, having advanced a large detachment, with a covering party, nearer, and — oppoſite to Port St. Louis, to clear the ground of bruſh, take poſt, and throw up a ſpacious redoubt, it being intended to erect a battery there: theſe parties were augmented to-day, and the enemy are endeavouring, by a very hot fire, to rout them thence. The ſecond in command of the marine department, with a Prieſt, and thirty Canadians, were this 16th.

1759. Sept. day brought in priſoners by a party of Highlanders. The enemy ſeem to be more laviſh of their ammunition than heretofore, neither ſparing our camp nor the ſouth batteries. We are drawing up more artillery, and large parties are employed in cutting faſcines, &c. the moſt effectual preparations are making to haſten the reduction of this capital, and, in a day or two, we hope to open a formidable fire upon the upper town, and the works on this ſide of it; which, however, do not ſeem calculated to bear much battering.

ORDERS.

17th. "Complaints have been made that great diſorders have been already committed, in the neighbourhood of the camp, by the ſoldiers; which has obliged the country people, who were coming in with freſh proviſions, to return. General Townſhend takes the earlieſt occaſion of declaring to the troops, that, whilſt he has the honour to command them, he thinks it his duty to indulge them in no acts of licentiouſneſs, the only circumſtance which can ſully the glory they have acquired, and prolongs the reduction of this country; *he is determined to preſerve the ſame good diſcipline kept up by their late General, and, like him, to grant every proper indulgence, which the good of the ſervice and good diſcipline dictates.* One Field-Officer, four Captains, twelve Subalterns, and four hundred men with arms, to parade this afternoon, at four o'clock, for work: the Engineers will order tools for them, and will conduct them. Neither Officer nor ſoldier to be allowed to go near the French general hoſpital; the guard there, and that in Major Dalling's redoubt, to be attentive that this order be obeyed. Three Captains, ſix Subalterns, and five hundred men, to parade to-morrow morning, at day-break, for faſcine-making. The piquets and working parties to parade, for the future, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The Brigadier of the day will diſpoſe of the piquets in the following redoubts:

"Advanced

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" Advanced redoubt — 1 " Dalling's redoubt — 1
" Field-artillery redoubt — 2 " The hoſpital poſt — 1
" Right redoubt — 1

" The reſt will be diſpoſed of by the Brigadier of the day, where " he ſhall think proper; all out-poſts and piquets to ſend a guide " to the parade at four o'clock in the afternoon, to attend the " relief."

Wet weather to-day. The Admiral moved the fleet up into the baſon, and is preparing to attack the lower town: the artillery which we have now in this camp conſiſts of twelve heavy twenty-four pounders of braſs, four light ditto, ſixteen of twenty-two pounders, and eight of iron; four thirteen-inch braſs mortars, and one of iron; four braſs ten-inch mortars, and eight of eight inches; four braſs twelve-pounders, and ſixteen ditto ſix-pounders; eleven royal howitzers of five inches and an half, and thirty of four inches and three quarters; in all, ſixty pieces of cannon, and fifty-eight mortars, &c. — The enemy fire now, almoſt inceſſantly, into our advanced works, our camp, and our batteries on the ſouth ſide of the river; an Officer of the twenty-eighth regiment, ſitting at the door of his tent, had one of his legs ſo ſhattered by a ſhot from the town, that he was compelled to undergo immediate amputation. A new battery is to be erected this afternoon, contiguous to the advanced redoubt, for cannon and mortars. Between the hours of two and three an Officer came out to our camp with propoſals to capitulate, upon which the Admiral was inſtantly ſent for. At four the working party for the advanced works and battery were paraded, and we lay ſome time on our arms to wait the event; between five and ſix we were ordered to the left of the line, to cut down all the under-wood and cover that ſtood within half a mile of our flank and rear; which employed us until almoſt nine. The army

1759. Sept. are ordered to be very alert this night, the town having agreed to capitulate, upon condition that it is not relieved, before to-morrow morning, by the troops under Meſſieurs de Levis and de Bougainville, who have ſignified their intentions to the Sieur de Ramſay of endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs us of this ground with all the force of

18th. Canada. The garriſon capitulated this morning, and the articles were duly ratified and exchanged. The fleet and army are to take poſſeſſion of the upper and lower towns this afternoon.

ORDERS.

" The capital of Canada having this day ſurrendered to his Britannic Majeſty's arms, upon terms honourable to our victorious army, all acts of violence, pillage, or cruelty, are ſtrictly forbidden. The garriſon to have the honours of war; the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and are, by the capitulation, intitled thereupon to his Majeſty's protection. The ſoldiers ought therefore to conſider, that Quebec belongs now to his Britannic Majeſty, and not to the French King; that it may be a garriſon to the troops, and muſt be preſerved with that view; that its early ſubmiſſion, *even before a gun was fired againſt it*, has ſaved the troops from much fatigue, and, perhaps, illneſs; that the ſubmiſſion of the whole colony, on this occaſion, may depend upon the behaviour of the ſoldiers; that our ſupplies this winter will be effected by it; it is conſequently the higheſt offence againſt the King's ſervice to infringe an order, which, by the articles of war, is death. After this warning no perſon can expect mercy upon conviction before a court-martial. This order to be read at the head of every company.

" The

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" The Form of taking Poſſeſſion of the TOWN.

" The gates to be taken poſſeſſion of by Lieutenant-Colonel " Murray, and three companies of grenadiers, after which the hour " will be appointed when the army ſhall march in. Fifty of the " Royal Artillery, Officers in proportion, one field-piece, with a " lighted match following them, will march to the grand parade, " followed by the Commanding Officer and his party, ſent to take " poſſeſſion of the town; to whom all keys of forts will be deli- " vered; from which party Officers' guards will immediately be " ſent to take poſſeſſion of all ports and outlets from the town. " Commiſſaries of ſtores and proviſions, with each a party, muſt be " put in poſſeſſion by the like Officers of the garriſon of all artil- " lery and ſtores of every kind, proviſions, &c. &c. for his Majeſty's " ſervice; abſtracts of which they are to deliver in, ſigned, to the " Engliſh Commiſſary, that nothing be concealed or embezzelled. " During this time the Commanding Officer of artillery will hoiſt " the Union flag of Great Britain at the moſt conſpicuous place of " the garriſon; the flag-gun will be left on the grand parade, front- " ing the main-guard. The piquets to be diſpoſed of by the Bri- " gadier of the day, according to yeſterday's orders."

The keys of the ports were given up this evening to General Townſhend, and ſafe-guards were ſent into the town, purſuant to the treaty: the Louiſbourg grenadiers marched in, preceded by a detachment of the artillery, and one gun, with the Britiſh colours hoiſted on its carriage: the Union flag was diſplayed on the citadel. And Captain Paliſer, with a large body of ſeamen and inferior Officers, at the ſame time took poſſeſſion of the lower town, and hoiſted colours on the ſummit of the declivity leading from the high to the low town, in view of the baſon and the north and ſouth countries below Quebec. Deſerters are coming in from Monſieur de Levis's army every hour, and the Canadians are ſurrendering by whole families,

1759. Sept. milies, to ſubmit to the General's mercy. A body of the enemy took poſt in an intrenchment on the north ſide of Charles's river, and have got ſome cannon there; they had the preſumption to fire at our men paſſing through the environs of the town and the limits of our camp, pretending that they were not included in the capitulation; however, a ſpirited meſſage was ſent to Monſieur de Ramſay, in which it was threatened 'to diſannul the capitulation, proſecute the ſiege with the utmoſt rigour, and ſtorm the town, if he, or any of his troops by his connivance, ſhould perſevere in that, or in any other ungenerous act or procedure; and inſiſting that all ſuch parts of the country, north and ſouth, as are and have been reputed in the diſtrict of Quebec, ſhall be comprehended in the treaty.' This vigorous menace had the deſired effect, and an Officer was immediately ſent to that quarter to command them to deſiſt from all farther acts of hoſtility: Major Elliot, with a detachment of five hundred men, were inſtantly ſent to take poſſeſſion of the enemy's late intrenched camp, and to diſarm the inhabitants of the village of Beauport. A noted rebel, by name Long, by birth a Briton, and formerly a pilot in our ſervice, is made a priſoner, and has been ſent in irons on board one of our ſhips of war; this fellow was a great partiſan among the French banditti in Nova Scotia, where he has frequently proved a deſperate thorn in the ſides of his countrymen.

Here follow the terms on which Quebec capitulated, with a tranſlation for the Engliſh reader.

Articles

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Articles de Capitulation demandée par Monſieur de Ramſay, Lieutenant pour le Roy, commandant les hautes et baſſes Villes de Québec, Chef de l'Ordre Militaire de St. Louis, a ſon Excellence le General de Troupes de ſa Majeſté Britannique. — " La Capitulation demandée de " l'autre Part, a été accordé par " ſon Excellence l'Admiral Saun- " ders, et ſon Excellence le Ge- " neral Townſhend, &c. &c. " &c. de la Maniere et Condi- " tion exprimée ci deſſous."

Articles of Capitulation demanded by Mr. de Ramſay, the King's Lieutenant, commanding the high and low Towns of Quebec, Chief of the Military Order of St. Lewis, to his Excellency the General of the Troops of his Britannic Majeſty.—" *The Capitulation* " *demanded on the Part of the* " *Enemy, and granted by their* " *Excellencies Admiral Saunders* " *and General Townſhend, &c.* " *&c. &c. is in Manner and* " *Form as hereafter expreſſed.*"

Le Premier.

MOnſieur de Ramſay demands les honneurs de la guerre pour ſa garniſon, et qu'elle ſoitr envoyée à l'armée en ſureté par le chemin le plus court, avec armes et bagage, ſix pieces de canon de fonte, deux mortiers ou aubuſſiers, et douze coups à tirer par pieces. — " La garniſon de la " ville, compoſée des troupes de " terre, de marine, et matelots, " ſortiront de la ville avec armes " et bagages, tambours battant, " meches allumées, deux pieces " de canon de France, et douze

I.

MR. de Ramſay demands the honours of war for his garriſon, and that it ſhall be ſent back to the army in ſafety, and by the ſhorteſt route, with arms, baggage, ſix pieces of braſs cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds for each of them. — " *The garriſon of* " *the town, compoſed of land forces,* " *marines, and ſailors, ſhall march* " *out with their arms and baggage,* " *drums beating, matches lighted,* " *with two pieces of French can-* " *non, and twelve rounds for each* " *piece; and ſhall be embarked as*

" coups

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" coups à tirer pour chaque piece, " et ſera embarquée le plus com- " modement qu'il ſera poſſible, " pour être miſe en France au " premier port."

" *conveniently as poſſible, to be ſent* " *to the firſt port in France.*"

II.

Que les habitans ſoient conſervés dans la poſſeſſion de leurs maiſons, biens, effets, et privileges. — " Accordé, — en mettant bas les armes."

II.

That the inhabitants ſhall be preſerved in the poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, effects, and privileges. — " *Granted, — upon their laying* " *down their arms.*"

III.

Que les habitans ne pourront être recherchés pour avoir porté les armes à la defence de la ville, attendu qu'ils ont été forcés, et que les habitans des colonies, de deux courones, y ſervent egalement comme miliciens. — " Ac- " cordé."

III.

That the inhabitants ſhall not be accountable for having carried arms in the defence of the town, foraſmuch as they were compelled to it, and that the inhabitants of the colonies, of both crowns, equally ſerve as militia. — " *Granted.*"

IV.

Qu'il ne ſera point touché aux effets des Officiers et habitans abſents. — " Accordé."

IV.

That the effects of the abſent Officers and citizens ſhall not be touched. — " *Granted.*"

V.

Que les habitans ne ſeront point transferés, ni tenus de quitter leurs maiſons, juſqu'a ce qu'un traité difinitif entre ſa Majeſté très Chrêſtien ne et ſa Majeſté Brittannique ayent reglé leur état. — " Accordé."

V.

That the inhabitants ſhall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houſes, until their condition ſhall be ſettled by their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties. — " *Granted.*"

VI. Que

VI.

Que l'exercise de la religion Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine sera conservée ; que l'on donnera des sauves gardes aux maisons ecclesiastiques, religieux et religieuses, particulierement à Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec, qui, rempli de zèle pour la religion, et de charité pour les peuples de son dioceſe, desire y rester constamment, exercer, librement et avec la decence que son état et les sacrés ministéres de la religion Romaine requieront, son authorité episcopale dans la ville de Québec, lorsqu'il le jugera à propòs, jusque la possession du Canada ait été decidée par un traité entre sa Majesté très Chrêtienne et sa Majesté Brittannique. — "Libre exercise de la religion Romaine, sauves gardes à toutes "personnes religieuses, ainsi qu'a "Monsieur l'Evêque, qui pourra "venir exercer, librement et avec "decence, les fonctions de son "état, lorsqu'il jugera à propòs, "jusqu' à ce que la possession du "Canada ait été decidée entre sa "Majesté Brittannique et sa Ma-"jesté très Chrêtienne."

VI.

That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be maintained; and that safeguards shall be granted to the houses of the Clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his dioceſe, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise, freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred offices of the Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties. — "*The free exercise of the Ro-*"*man religion is granted, likewise*"*safe-guards to all religious per-*"*sons, as well as to the Bishop,*"*who shall be at liberty to come*"*and exercise, freely and with de-*"*cency, the functions of his office,*"*whenever he shall think proper,*"*until the possession of Canada shall*"*have been decided between their*"*Britannic and most Christian*"*Majesties.*"

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VII.

Que l'artillerie et munitions de guerre seront remisses de bonne foy, et qu'il en sera dressé un inventaire. — "Accordé."

VII.

That the artillery and warlike stores shall be faithfully given up, and that an inventory of them shall be made out. — "*Granted.*"

VIII.

Qu'il enser ausé envers les blessés, malades, Comissaires, Aumoniers, Medicins, Chirurgiens, Apothecaires, et autres personnes employées au service des hopîteaux, conformément au traité d'echange du 6me Fevrier, 1759, convenus entre leurs Majestés très Chrêtienne et Brittannique. — "Accordé."

VIII.

That the sick and wounded, the Commissaries, Chaplains, Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and other people employed in the service of the hospitals, shall be treated conformably to the cartel of the 6th of February, 1759, settled between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties. — "*Granted.*"

IX.

Qu'avant delivrer la porte et l'entrée de la ville aux troupes Angloises, leur General vaudra bien remettre quelques soldats pour être mis en sauve garde aux églises, convents, et principales habitations. — "Accordé."

IX.

That before delivering up the gate and the entrance of the town to the English troops, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be posted as safe-guards upon the churches, convents, and principal habitations. — "*Granted.*"

X.

Qu'il sera permis au Lieutenant du Roi, commandant dans la ville de Québec, d'envoyer informer M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, Gouverneur-General de la reduction de la place, comme ausi que le General pourra l'ecrire au Ministre de France pour l'informer. — "Accordé."

X.

That the King's Lieutenant, commanding in Quebec, shall be permitted to send information to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, of the reduction of the place, as also that the General may send advice thereof to the French Ministry. — "*Granted.*"

XI. Que

XI.

Que la préſente capitulation ſera executée ſuivant ſa forme et teneur, ſans qu'elle puiſſe être ſujette à inexecution ſous pretexte de repriſailles, ou pour inexecution de quelques capitulations précédentes. — "Accordé."

Arreſté double entre nous au camp devant Québec, ce 18me de Septembre, 1759.

XI.

That the preſent capitulation ſhall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being ſubject to non-execution under pretence of repriſals, or for the non-execution of any preceding capitulations. — "*Granted.*" 1759. Sept.

Duplicates hereof taken and executed by, and between us, at the camp before Quebec, this 18th day of September, 1759.

Charles Saunders.
George Townſhend.
De Ramſey.

Charles Saunders.
George Townſhend.
De Ramſey.

Having now brought our labours to a glorious determination, I ſhall only obſerve, that, if any fleet and army ever exceeded their predeceſſors in valour, perſeverance and unanimity, that merit may juſtly be claimed by this armament before Quebec, and by its Commanders reſpectively. This harmony and concord, particularly among our General Officers, ſhine conſpicuouſly in the ſucceſsful event, notwithſtanding many groundleſs inſinuations and reports to the contrary; and, if the reader is ſtill deſirous to be farther aſcertained of it, let him pay proper attention to Mr. Wolfe's incomparable letter of the 2d inſtant, and to the orders that were publiſhed after his death by his ſucceſſors; which muſt ſufficiently obviate every illiberal ſuggeſtion, artfully circulated by unthinking or deſigning men, from a motive of endeavouring to appear *of conſequence*. The army had, indeed, uncommon obſtacles to contend with; the enemy exceedingly ſuperior in number, the country every-where ſtrong, and its ſhores almoſt inacceſſible. The ardour

1759. Sept. and activity of our fleet, from their firſt entrance into the river St. Lawrence, and particularlay againſt the numerous floating batteries, and formidable rafts and fire-ſhips of the enemy, diffuſed ſuch an emulation among the troops as inabled them to diſcharge their duty, in contempt of the greateſt fatigues and dangers; and, at length, to overcome every difficulty which at firſt appeared to them. The admirable ſervice perfomred by the artillery, under that experienced maſter of his profeſſion, Colonel, now Major-General, Williamſon, exceeds every thing that can poſſibly be ſaid in their behalf: and, for the honour of that corps, it may, with the ſtricteſt juſtice, be alledged, that not any other country can boaſt of greater proficients in the art of gunnery, than thoſe produced by that excellent academy at Woolwich. I am happy in an opportunity of thus declaring my ſentiments of the gentlemen educated in that Royal ſeminary, and at the ſame time to confute a variety of pompous vauntings, which one frequently hears advanced in favour of our enemies, by giving them the preference, in that ſcience, to the reſt of Europe: for, how great ſoever the merit of the French may be in the art of war in other reſpects, I muſt confeſs their eminence, in this particular branch, was not conſpicuous at any time in the courſe of this campaign *. Upon the whole, our ſeamen, marines, and ſoldiers, of every rank and ſtation, employed upon this important enterpriſe, have reſpectively, with the greateſt chearfulneſs and intrepidity, diſcharged their duty, in ſuch a manner as to reflect the moſt illuſtrious honour on themſelves, on the Britiſh arms, and on their country.

Our late much lamented General has been embalmed, and this day his remains were ſent from Point Levi on board a ſhip, to be carried to England: the detachments in that quarter, under Colonel

* As a proof of which it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that we had not above thirty-ſix men killed and wounded at our batteries by the enemy's ſhot and ſhells, in the whole progreſs of the ſiege.

James,

James, attended the corpſe to the water-ſide, and the Officers and men moſt ſenſibly expreſſed their grief on this melancholy occaſion. — The Canadians are ſurrendering to ſolicit permiſſion to reap their harveſt; by them we are informed, that a body of forces are re-aſſembled at Point de Tremble, and incamped there to watch our motions. Notice is given to the army, that a ſhip will ſail for England the day after to-morrow; all letters ſent to the head quarters will be duly forwarded. Some ſoldiers having committed diſorders upon the natives by robbing and plundering them, General Townſhend has offered a reward of five guineas for a diſcovery of them. The detachment of five hundred men, under Major-Elliot, that marched yeſterday, returned this evening to the camp; — they were ſent to diſlodge the enemy from a ſtrong intrenchment on the north ſide of Charles's river, which ſervice was effectually performed with very little loſs; the Major made ſeveral priſoners, but unfortunately, in repaſſing that river, three of his men were drowned. In that poſt, and in different parts of their late incampment, ſeveral pieces of ordnance, and ſome ammunition were taken. The inhabitants of Beauport received our people with open arms, and gave them wine, and ſuch other refreſhments as they were poſſeſſed of. A flag of truce came in to-day from the French army; our weather cold and wet. 1759. Sept.

ORDERS.

" It is the General's orders that no man goes for wood, unleſs a " Serjeant's or Corporal's party is ſent with them; which non-com- " commiſſioned Officer is to be anſwerable that the men do not " commit any abuſes upon the inhabitants, and ſee them return to " the camp. All the corps now in the camp are to form at the " head of their reſpective regiments at day-break; the Quarter- " Maſters and Camp-Colour-men of the line to aſſemble in the " front of the forty-eighth regiment, at ſix o'clock, in order to " mark 20th.

1759. Sept. "mark out the new incampment, which will be ſhewn them by "an aſſiſtant Quarter-Maſter-General at the ſame hour. The "The Commanding Officers of regiments will order out a ſufficient "number of men from their battalions, to level the redoubts in "their front and rear; they will ſend for tools to the head quarters, "which they are to return to the ſame place, when the work is "finiſhed; all proviſions for the future are to be iſſued near the "Intendants's palace."

Being this day detached to the camp at Point Levi on regimental affairs, I paſſed through the garriſon, and took a boat from the lower town, by which I had an opportunity of viewing more diſtinctly the great effect our artillery had upon it from the ſouth ſide of the river; and indeed the havoc is not to be conceived. Such houſes as are ſtanding are perforated by our ſhot, more or leſs; and the low town is ſo great a ruin, that its ſtreets are almoſt impaſſable; the parts leaſt damaged are the ſtreets leading to Port Lewis, Port St. John, and the Palace-Gate; and yet theſe, though more remote from our batteries, have had ſome ſhare in the almoſt general deſtruction. The impropriety of putting wounded men into the ſame hoſpital with the ſick being repreſented to Colonel James, he had a moſt commodious booth erected for their reception contiguous to the Point; immediately after the army moved above the town. Two French frigates, with a number of tranſports, are ſaid to be arrived in the river Sequenny, which has occaſioned ſome of our ſhips being ſent down in queſt of them. An expreſs is gone over to General Amherſt. All the regular troops that compoſe this army are to remain in garriſon this winter, except the three companies of grenadiers under Colonel Murray from Louiſbourg, who are to return to their reſpective corps; one company only of the provincial rangers is to continue here. The detachments of regulars and rangers under Major Scott and Captain Goreham, who went down the river on the firſt inſtant, are returned: they took a great quantity of black cattle and ſheep; an immenſe deal of plunder, ſuch as houſhold-ſtuff, books, and apparel; burned above eleven hundred houſes, and deſtroyed ſeveral hundred

hundred acres of corn, beſides ſome fiſheries; they made ſixty priſoners: and had only five men wounded in all their different ſkirmiſhes; many pariſhes that they paſſed through were ſpared, by the inhabitants not having attempted any inſult to our troops. The weather to-day is very ſeaſonable. 1759. Sept.

By the reduction of Quebec, there are fallen into our hands twelve pieces of braſs ordnance *, including two petards; and between the garriſon, the battery at Sillery, (one mortar and four guns deſtroyed) the hulks, floats, and batteries north of Charles's river, above three hundred pieces of different calibres, beſides a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, ſmall arms, intrenching tools, and other valuable ſtores to a great amount.

ORDERS.

21ſt.

"The out-poſts are to take up all ſtragglers and marauders, "and bring them to the Provoſt's guard; they are alſo to take care "that there is no inſult ſhewn to any of the inhabitants, who are "now diſpoſed to come in, and take the oaths to the King of Great "Britain. The General again aſſures the army, that all plunder- "ing will be puniſhed with death. Particular care muſt be taken "of the ſubjects, that no hurt or abuſes are done to any of the "houſes. The head quarters are in the ſuburbs. The regiments "are to mount piquets according to their numbers as uſual. The "rangers advanced upon the road leading along the back of the ri- "ver, and that leading to St. Foy, are to patrole during the night, "and particularly before day-break. All advanced poſts are to have "double centries, ſingle centries being apt to give falſe alarms. "All the faſcines to be piled up, and taken care of by the guard "in the redoubt on the left of Colonel Murray's corps."

* Of theſe, four howitzers and one field-piece were Engliſh, and taken from us in the late unfortunate General Braddock's field of battle.

ORDERS.

1759. Sept. 22d. "Commanding Officers of corps to give in a return of the vacant commiſſions in their reſpective regiments, and of the Officers next in ſeniority to ſucceed them: as alſo a liſt of their volunteers, and the time they have ſerved. The corps of light infantry, under the command of Colonel Howe, to join their reſpective regiments. All the French arms to be delivered into the train of artillery; any ſoldier, or other perſon, who preſumes to ſell any, will be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. The guard at the general hoſpital to be relieved by a Subaltern and thirty men: they are not to allow any Officer or ſoldier to go into the hoſpital without a paſs from one of the Generals. Two Captains, ſix Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and five hundred men, to parade to-morrow morning at ſix o'clock, with arms, to make faſcines; an Engineer will conduct them, and they will parade in the front of the forty-ſeventh regiment."

The country-people are ſurrendering in great numbers, to take the oaths of allegiance: they ſay, that, as ſoon as they ſhall reap their harveſt, they will open a market in the town or ſuburbs, if permitted; and ſupply us with ſuch proviſions as the country affords, either by ſale or barter. The army is now incamped, in two lines, nearer to Quebec; and large detachments are employed in levelling our redoubts, clearing the ſtreets and houſes in the town, landing ſtores, and forming magazines of proviſions, ammunition, &c. &c. Brigadier Murray is to remain here in command, and Colonel Burton, of the forty-eighth regiment, is to act as Lieutenant-Governor. An expreſs is ſailed for England, with an account of the ſucceſs of our arms. Two Captains, four Subalterns, and two hundred men, are ordered to take poſt in the large French redoubt on the north ſide of Charles's river. I ſhall here ſubjoin a tranſlation of a manuſcript fragment, which was brought to me, in the courſe of the winter,

winter by one of our ſoldiers, as it contains the ſequel of a diary, made in the French army, of the tranſactions immediately previous to, and in conſequence of, the 13th inſtant: — 'This determined 'Mr. Wolfe, at all events, to make one trial more, and to poſſeſs 'himſelf of the eminence on which Quebec ſtands. In conſe- 'quence of this reſolution, he reinforced the ſquadron above the 'town, raiſed his camp by Montmorencie, and removed it to Point 'Levi; by this alteration, we being no longer apprehenſive of an at- 'tempt upon our left, ſome troops were drawn off thence, to rein- 'force the right of our camp. — On the 5th (of September) ſeveral 'corps of the enemy were diſcovered marching upon the heights of 'Point Levi, in the direct road to the river Chaudiere, where they 'embarked on board their ſhips: this movement put it out of 'doubt, that the enemy had ſtill entertained a deſign of making 'another deſcent upon the north ſhore, of which immediate notice 'was ſent to Mr. Bougainville, who commanded in that quarter, 'with ſtrict orders to be upon his guard, and attentive to all the 'motions of the Britiſh on that ſide. General Wolfe came at 'length to a reſolution to make a ſerious attempt at Le Foullon: 'and, — on the night of the 12th, — he landed one hundred and fifty 'Highlanders below Sillery, who, with the utmoſt difficulty, climb- 'ed up to the ſummit of the Cape, which is immenſly ſteep; 'took the detachment ſtationed at that place in the rear, fell upon 'them unexpectedly, and routed them: our ſoldiers, thus ſurpriſed, 'ſcarce made any reſiſtance, but precipitately abandoned their poſt, 'and fled. The Britiſh, having now no enemy in front to oppoſe 'them, on the morning of the 13th ſcaled the mountain without 'any difficulty, and ſoon gained the great road of St. Foy, along 'which they advanced in regular order. Our troops inſtantly ſtood 'to their arms, filed off to the right, and croſſed the rivulet of St. 'Charles, leaving a detachment of fifteen hundred men only in 'our camp for its defence; we took poſt upon the heights of 1759. Sept.

1759. Sept. ‘ Abraham, and there waited the arrival of the enemy. General ‘ Wolfe, upon firſt coming up, had ordered a party of light troops ‘ to take poſſeſſion of the houſe De Borgie, from which we at- ‘ tempted to diſlodge them; but, after a very ſpirited and obſti- ‘ nate attack, we found our efforts, without cannon, to little pur- ‘ poſe. The two armies did not long remain in view of each ‘ other without coming to an action: our troops expreſſed great ar- ‘ dour and eagerneſs to engage; but, alas! theſe ſpirits were of a very ‘ ſhort duration, though it was judged proper to take immediate ‘ advantage of this flow of intrepidity and good humour, and there- ‘ fore our Generals, thinking we could do the buſineſs without the ‘ aid of Mr. Bougainville, who was advancing from Cape Rouge ‘ with the flower of the army, ordered us to march up and engage ‘ the enemy. Our troops gave the firſt fire, the Britiſh the ſecond, ‘ and the affair was over; our right took to their heels, our center ‘ ran after them, which drew along the left wing; and thus the battle ‘ was loſt in leſs time than I am recounting it. Attempts were ‘ made to rally the fugitives, but to no purpoſe; all that could be ‘ done was to collect a body of ſeven or eight hundred men to- ‘ gether, whom we drew up, and threw them into the coppice upon ‘ our right, to retard the purſuit of the conquerors, which, in ſome ‘ meaſure, ſucceeded; others, who had recovered from their panic, ‘ formed themſelves into ſmall diviſions, and made a ſtand, ſo that ‘ the action had an appearance of being renewed, though it was ‘ of little conſequence; the fatal *coup* was ſtruck, and the enemy ‘ triumphed. In the afternoon an expreſs was diſpatched to Mon- ‘ ſieur de Levis, to acquaint him with the dreadful cataſtrophe, and ‘ to deſire him to come down, and take the command of the army ‘ in the room of the Sieur de Montcalm, who was dangerouſly ‘ wounded. This done, the Marquis de Vaudreuil ſummoned the ‘ principal Officers to a council of war, and gave it as his opinion, ‘ *that they ſhould take their revenge on the morrow, and endeavour to* ‘ *wipe off the diſgrace of that fatal day.* How it happened that we

‘ took

'took a contrary measure I cannot say; for, notwithstanding these 1759. Sept.
'spirited sentiments of the Marquis, the members were unanimous
'in their opinion, *that there was an absolute necessity for the army to*
'*retire to Jacques Cartier, and, in this procedure, farther time*
'*should not be lost:* so the army moved off immediately, leaving
'every thing behind them, and marched all night to gain the
'Point de Tremble, being the rendezvous for the whole. Mon-
'sieur de Levis, upon receipt of his melancholy packet, depart-
'ed instantly from Montreal, and joined the army on the 16th.
'After a few hours conference with the Marquis, it was agreed
'upon to write to Governor de Ramsay at Quebec, and acquaint
'him, — *that a resolution was formed to march to his relief; to ex-*
'*hort him, by all means, to hold out to the last extremity, for that on*
'*the* 18th *our whole army would be in motion, and that a disposition*
'*was made to throw in a large supply of provisions, and to relieve*
'*the town.* The courier, on his arrival at Quebec, found Mr. de
'Ramsay in treaty with the besieging General for the surrender of
'the place; and, why he did not immediately break off, or, at least,
'suspend the negociation, we are at a loss to conceive; the capitula-
'tion was reciprocally ratified, and exchanged in the English camp
'on the morning of the 18th, whereby Quebec became a British
'garrison.'

ORDERS.

"*General Monckton desires that all the Officers of the army will* 23d.
"*please to wear mourning for General Wolfe, their late Commander in*
"*Chief, such as is usual in the field.* Captain Cosnan, of the forty-
"fifth regiment, is appointed to act as Town-Major; Lieutenant
"Patteshal of the fortieth, and Lieutenant d'Aripe of the fifteenth
"regiment, are also appointed to act as Town-Adjutants of Que-
"bec, and are all to be obeyed as such. All working parties from
"camp or garrison are to assemble upon the grand parade, where

1759. Sept. "the Officers, whoſe ſervices are required, muſt attend them, to "conduct their men to work at the hour appointed. A return of "the invalids of every corps to be given in, as ſoon as poſſible. A "detachment of two Captains, four Subalterns, ſix Serjeants, and "two hundred men, to parade to-morrow morning at ſix o'clock, "with arms, and three days' proviſions; an artillery Officer will "conduct them. One Subaltern, and thirty men, with arms, and "a Corporal, and ſix Camp-Colour-men, with their colours, are "to parade at the like hour to-morrow, and with three days' pro-"viſions; they will receive their orders from Major M'Kellar, "chief Engineer. Two Captains, ſix Subalterns, and five hundred "men to make faſcines to-morrow, which are to be brought into "town, and left where the Major of brigade will appoint. Two "Subalterns, and one hundred men, will parade to-morrow, with-"out arms, for the Commiſſary of proviſions."

Showery weather. *Divine ſervice was performed to-day, for the army, on the field of battle; and an excellent thankſgiving ſermon was preached on the occaſion.* A deſerter from the enemy ſays, that Monſieur de Levis threatens to retake Quebec this winter by *eſcalade*. The quantities of faſcines we are making are for the repairs of the works within the town, and to reveſt the parapet wall of the ramparts next the country, as alſo to complete ſome embraſures which are to be opened in the curtains.

ORDERS.

24th. "All the regiments are to ſend in to Mr. Porter, Paymaſter-Ge-"neral, the accounts of their ſubſiſtence between the 25th of June "and 24th of Auguſt, in order for the warrants annexed to them "for that muſter. Reports of all kinds in the town to be made to "the Field-Officer of the day, who is to report to Brigadier Mur-"ray. The Officers of the poſt-guards are to ſearch all carts that go

"out

" out or into town, and are to ſtop all thoſe that carry any thing that 1759. Sept.
" may be of ſervice to the enemy. Five hundred men, with Offi-
" cers and Non-commiſſioned in proportion, for making faſcines,
" to-morrow, as uſual."

Agreable weather to-day. A quantity of new fire-arms, cutlery, and hardware, hoſiery, mercery, and haberdaſhery wares of every kind, with clocks, watches, and a variety of trinkets; alſo gold, ſilver, and copper laces; furs, ſkins, wine, ſalt, ſugar, ſpare cloathing, and moggoſans, &c. &c. have been found in the Intendant's magazine or ſtorehouſe within the garriſon. The Canadians are ſurrendering ſtill more numerouſly to deliver their arms, and ſwear fealty to their new Maſter: the more diſtreſſed of them come daily into our camp to beg charity, and to intreat we will exchange biſcuit and pork for their cabbage and other vegetables; their demand for bread is inconceiveable; and their deſire of peace and quietneſs ſeems to render them more reconciled to their conquered fate.

ORDERS.

" Five hundred men to be ſent to-morrow to l'Iſle Madame; 25th.
" this detachment to conſiſt of one Field-Officer, two Captains,
" four Subalterns, with one hundred and fifty men from the line,
" and three hundred and fifty rangers, with Officers in proportion;
" they are to be provided with grinding-ſtones and felling-axes
" from the King's ſtores: the ſoldiers are to be allowed a jill of
" rum per day, and five ſhillings for every cord of wood they cut
" and put on board; the Officers, who are appointed to overſee this
" work, will receive three ſhillings per day each: the whole are
" to be ready to embark to-morrow morning by eight o'clock, at
" the water-ſide in the lower town; an inquiry to be made among
" the Nova Scotia regiments of the Officers who will undertake the
" overſeeing. A general court-martial to ſit to-morrow morning,
" &c. Colonel Young Preſident, and twelve Captains from the
" line. The detachment on the other ſide of Charles's river to be

" relieved

1759. Sept. " relieved to-morrow by a Captain, two Subalterns, and fifty men; " they are to carry ſeven days' proviſions with them. The poſt at " the battery to be relieved to-morrow morning, at ſix o'clock, " by one Captain, two Subalterns, and one hundred men. The " poſt at St. Foy to be relieved by one Subaltern and thirty men. " The poſt at Captain St. Leger's houſe to be relieved by one " Captain, two Subalterns, and fifty men, all at the ſame hour. " A party of two Captains, four Subalterns, and two hundred men " to be in readineſs to attend the Engineers. Two Captains, four " Subalterns, ſix Serjeants, and four hundred men to parade as " uſual for faſcine-making. A party of one Subaltern and forty " men to parade in town, for the Aſſiſtant Deputy Quarter- " Maſter-General. One Captain, two Subalterns, and one hun- " dred and fifty men to parade for the artillery. Two Subalterns " and one hundred men to parade for landing proviſions. All " thoſe ſeveral parties to parade at ſix o'clock to-morrow morn- " ing."

We had gloomy threatening weather, in the fore part of this day: in the afternoon, a heavy rain, which continued until the next morning. The country-people are now returning to their habitations with their cattle and effects, and are beginning to reap their harveſt; it is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that I have daily ocular experience of the moſt diſtinguiſhed humanity and generoſity in our worthy ſoldiers; they not only ſhare their proviſions with the diſtreſſed Canadians, but even their ſmall allowance of rum: to-day I ſaw above twenty of our men aſſiſting thoſe poor people in cutting and binding their ſheaves of corn; they being within the diſtrict of the poſt where I was on duty, I went towards them, and, aſking the ſoldiers what they were to get for their labour, they replied, 'They ſought not any thing; what they did 'was out of good-will to the poor creatures, who had little 'enough for themſelves.' One of them added, — 'It would 'be rank murder to take any thing from the poor devils,

'for

'for they have loſt enough already.' While I ſtood reflecting on the matchleſs goodneſs of our honeſt Britons, with the oddity of the foregoing ſpeech, I ſaw a peaſant take from his pocket a ſeal-ſkin pouch, with a pipe, and offer his tobacco to the ſoldiers, which they all refuſed: one of them inſtantly produced a ruſty iron box that was alſo filled with tobacco, and tendered it to the Canadian, ſaying, 'When it is out, I know where to get more; 'perhaps that is not your caſe, poor man!' — Charmed with ſuch benevolence and nobleneſs of heart, I approached the poor American, in order to explain to him what had been ſaid; whereupon he dropped his reaping-hook, and raiſed his hands and eyes, with ſeeming fervency, to Heaven; aſtoniſhed no doubt, at ſo much unexpected, nay undeſerved, goodneſs. This inſtance furniſhed me with a ſpacious field for agreeable reflections; well, thought I, here our ſoldiers have manifeſted the ſuitableneſs and juſtneſs of thoſe incomparable ideas ſo elegantly expreſſed by the inimitable Mr. Wolfe, in his placart to the Canadians: — *Britons, breathe higher ſentiments of humanity, and liſten to the merciful dictates of the Chriſtian religion.* My pleaſing meditations were now interrupted by the arrival of an expreſs, to advertiſe me of the approach of a relief; ſo, after I had commended the ſoldiers for their admirable diſplay of generoſity to a conquered enemy, I retired to my poſt. — Violent thunder and lightning towards evening. 1759. Sept.

ORDERS.

"No perſons are to be permitted to walk on the ramparts, but "Britiſh Officers and ſoldiers; and no ſoldier muſt preſume to go "to the general hoſpital without a paſs." 26th.

Showery weather: the troops which compoſed the late French garriſon embarked this day; they conſiſted of the King's Lieutenant, nine Captains, thirteen firſt and ſecond Lieutenants, three Cadets, twenty-ſeven Serjeants, twenty-two Drummers, and five hundred

1759. Sept. hundred and forty rank and file: total, excluſive of a number of ſeamen, ſix hundred and fifteen.—Our incampment will break up, as ſoon as the town is cleared of its rubbiſh, and the houſes are repaired for our reception; for this purpoſe carpenters, bricklayers, ſmiths, and others are now aſſiduouſly employed.

Having procured a mandate publiſhed, throughout this dioceſe, by the Biſhop of Quebec, on the 18th of April laſt, upon their receiving certain intelligence of our intentions to invade Canada, and to beſiege their capital; it may not be unacceptable to inſert it here, with a tranſlation for the Engliſh reader.

'Mandement de Monſeigneur, pour des Prieres publiques.

'Henry Marie Dubreil, de Pont Briand, par la miſericorde de 'Dieu, et la grace du Sainte Siége, Evêque de Québec, Conſeiller 'du Roi, en tous ſes conſeils, &c. &c. au Clergé ſeculier et regulier, 'et à tous les fideles de nôtre dioceſe, ſalut et benediction en nôtre 'Seigneur Jeſus Chriſt.

'Vous avez connoiſſance, nos très chers frères, des preparatifs 'immenſes que fait l'ennemi, de ſes deſſeins formés d'attaquer la 'colonie par quatre endroits differens, du nombre de ſes troupes 'reglée et milices, ſix fois au moins ſuperieures aux nôtres; vous 'n'ignorez pas qu'ils envoyant des Colliers chez toutes les nations 'pour nous les enlever, pour animer contre nous celles qui voudrient 'conſerver une eſpece de neutralité; vous ſavez qu'ils occupent 'à préſent au bas de nôtre fleuve des ports que nous regar-'dions comme autant de barriéres; vous appercevez tous les 'motifs de crainte et de frayeur, et vous en êtés ſans doute frappés. 'L'incertitude ſur les affaires d'Europe, les dangers aux quels 'ſont expoſés, les ſecours que nous en entendons, les flottes nom-'breuſes deſtinées à nôtre pert, la diſette générale de tout ce qui 'eſt neceſſaire pour ſe defendre et peut être pour vivre dans le 'ſein même de la paix, doivent naturellement faire encore plus

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‘ d'impreſſion ſur vos eſprits. Mais ce qui doit inquieter d'avantage,
‘ c'eſt le peu de zèle qu'on remarque preſqu' en tout le monde, ce
‘ ſont les diſcours malins et injurieux tenus ſur ceux mêmes
‘ en qui l'on devroit mettre toute ſa confiance; ce qui doit nous
‘ faire craindre, ce ſont les divertiſſements profanes aux quels on s'eſt
‘ livré, avec plus de fureur que jamais; ce ſont les excès intolerables
‘ dans les jeux de hazard, ces deguiſemens impies en deriſion, ou,
‘ pour mieux dire, en haine de la religion; ce ſont les crimes
‘ plus que jamais multiplié dans le cours de cet hyver. — Voilà
‘ ce qui nous obligé nos, très chers frères, à tout craindre, et a
‘ vous annoncer que Dieu lui même eſt irrité, que ſa main eſt
‘ levée pour nous frapper, et qu'en effet nous le meritons. — Oui,
‘ nos très chers freres, nous vous le diſons à la face des autels,
‘ et dans l'amertume de nôtre cœur, ce n'eſt pas le nombre des
‘ ennemis, ce ne ſont pas leurs efforts qui effrayent et qui nous
‘ font enviſager les plus grands malheurs tant pour l'état que pour la
‘ religion. Voici la dix-huitième année revolué que le Seigneur
‘ nous à appellès, quoique indignes, à la conduite de ce vaſte dioceſe:
‘ nous vous avons vû avec douleur ſouffrir ſouvent de la famine, et
‘ de la maladie, et preſque toujours en guerre; mais cette année
‘ nous paroit à tous egards la plus triſte et la plus deplorable, parce
‘ qu', en effet, vous êtes plus criminels. — Avoit on jamais entendu
‘ parler de tant de vols mánifeſtes, de tant d'injuſtices criautes, de tant
‘ de rapines honteuſes; avoit on vû dans cette colonie des maiſons
‘ conſacrées, pour ainſi dire, publiquement au crime; avoit on
‘ vû autant d'abominations? — Dans preſque tous les états, la con-
‘ tagion eſt preſque générale; elle n'eſt pourtant pas encore ſans
‘ remede, nos très chers frères, et vôtre malheur n'eſt pas ſans
‘ reſſource. La foi nous apprend qu'une vraie et ſincere converſion
‘ peut arrêter le bras vengeur de la juſtice Divine, et que ſouvent
‘ elle l'a en effet arrêté. — Le mal eſt grand, — il eſt vrai: mais le
‘ remede eſt entre vos mains: *Infidele Jeruſalem, revenez à Dieu,*
‘ *et Dieu, ſuivant ſa promiſe, ſe laiſſera flêcher!* Effacez, nos très
‘ chers frères, effacez promptement le paſſe par les larmes d'une

 ‘ ſincere

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‘ ſincere penitence ; elles ſont bien puiſſantes ſur le cœur d'un Dieu qui ‘ ne punit qu' à regrét. — Renoncez pour jamais à vos deſordres, ‘ et le Ciel propice à nos vœux diſſipera à l'inſtant tous nos objets ‘ de crainte et de frayeur. — C'eſt donc la converſion de pécheurs ‘ que nous nous propoſons dans ces prieres publiques. Ames juſtes, ‘ rendez vous y aſſidues : priez, pleurez, ſoupirez avec les miniſtres ‘ de l'autel ; demandez avec inſtance que le Seigneur eclaire les ‘ pécheur, ſur les malheurs de leurs ames, et qu'il les touche et ‘ les convertiſſe ; ce ſont, vos frères, qui courent à leur perte ; ‘ craignez de vous trouver envelloppès dans leur diſgrace ; et, vous ‘ pécheurs, nous vous en prions au nom de Jeſus Chriſt, au moins ‘ ne mettez pas d'obſtacles aux faveurs que nous demandons pour ‘ vous ; venez plutôt, nous vous en conjurons par tout ce qui eſt ‘ capable de vous toucher : venez les ſolliciter vous mêmes dans ‘ un eſprit de douleur et de componction. — A ces cauſes après en ‘ avoir conferé avec nos venerables frères les Chanoines de nôtre ‘ égliſe cathedrale, le ſaint nom de Dieu invoqué, nous avons or- ‘ donné et ordonnons ce qui ſuit.

‘ Premierément, Dans les paroiſſes des campagnes, le premier ‘ dimanche de chaque mois, il ſera fait une proceſſion ſans porter ‘ le Saint Sacrement, à l'endroit et à l'heure que choiſira chaqu'un ‘ de Meſſieurs les Curés : — dans cette proceſſion on chantera ‘ les litanies des Saints, enſuite le pſeaume, ‘ *Miſerere mei Deus :* — ‘ et, immediatement après les oraiſons et anciennes ordinaires de ‘ ſalut, le Prêtre fera une amande honorable au noms de pécheurs, ‘ qu'on peut prendre dans le rituel au dimanche de la Trinitè, ‘ page 429.

‘ Secondément, Tout Prêtre ſeculier et regulier ajoutera aux ‘ oraiſons de la Meſſe, l'oraiſon du Miſſel, *Deus refugium.*

‘ Troiſiémement, Dans tous les benedictions du Saint Sacrement, ‘ on chantera le trait, *Domine, non ſecundum,* avec les verſets et ‘ l'oraiſon pour la remiſſion des péchés.

‘ Quatriémement,

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' Quatriémement, Dans les differentes égliſes de Québec, ſavoir, ' la cathedrale, l'égliſe de la Victoire en la baſſe ville, le ſeminaire, les ' Jeſuites, les Recollects, les Urſulines; on fera alternativement une ' Neuvaine; on dira la Sainte Meſſe vers les ſept heures, on y chantera ' les litanies des Saints, et le pſeaume, *Miſerere mei Deus*.

' On fera une amande honorable au nom de pécheurs, et ' on terminera par la benediction du Saint Sacrement, avec ' le Saint Ciboire ſeulement. Les jours libres on pourra dire ' alternativement les Meſſes votives des Saints Anges, de la ' Saint Trinité, du Saint Eſprit, de Sancta Cruce, de Sancta ' Maria, *pro quâcumque neceſſitate, pro tempore belli, pro pace:* du ' Patron de l'égliſe ou chapelle, aux Jeſuites de Saint François ' Xavier; à la baſſe ville de Sainte Geneviéve; aux Urſulines du ' ſacré cœur de Jeſus; au ſeminaire de la ſainte famille, ou pour la ' converſion des ſauvages.

' On obſervera autant, qu'il ſera poſſible, à Montréal et aux Trois ' Riviéres, ce qui eſt préſcrit pour Québec; dans les camps, et ' dans les forts, on ſuivra ce qui eſt ordonné pour les paroiſſes de ' campagne.

' Sera le préſent mandement lû et publié au prône de la Meſſe ' de paroiſſe, le premier dimanche après la reception d'icelui.

' Donné à Québec dans nôtre palais epiſcopal, ſous nôtre ſeing, ' le ſceau de nos armes, et la ſouſcription de nôtre Secretaire, ' ce 18me d'Avril, 1759.

' Signé, H. M. Evêque de Québec, et plus bas,

' Par Monſeigneur, &c.

' Signé, BRIAND, Chanoine Secretaire.'

'My Lord the Biſhop's Mandate, &c. &c. &c.

1759. Sept. 'Henry Mary Dubriel, of Pont Briand, by the mercy of God, 'and the grace of the Holy See, Biſhop of Quebec, Counſellor 'to the King in all his councils, &c. to the ſecular and regular 'Clergy, and to all the faithful of our dioceſe, ſalvation and bleſſing 'in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'You are not unacquainted, my very dear brethren, with the 'immenſe preparations of the enemy, the deſigns formed to attack 'the colony in four different parts, the number of their regular 'troops and militia, ſix times at leaſt ſuperior to our's; neither are 'you ignorant, that they have ſent emiſſaries to all the Indian na- 'tions, to incite them to forſake us, and to rouſe thoſe to take 'up arms againſt us, who are willing to preſerve a kind of neutra- 'lity. You are ſenſible, moreover, that they occupy thoſe harbours 'at the lower end of our river, which hitherto we have regarded 'as ſo many barriers; you perceive every incitement to fear and 'terror, and you are undoubtedly aſtoniſhed thereat. The uncer- 'tainty of the affairs of Europe, the many dangers to which the 'ſuccours we expect are expoſed, the numerous fleets deſtined 'for our deſtruction; the general ſcarcity that prevails of every 'thing neceſſary, as well for our defence as our ſubſiſtence, even 'in peace, ought naturally to make the greateſt impreſſion 'on our minds. But what ought ſtill to be the cauſe of the 'greateſt chagrine is the ittle zeal for pity obſerved every-where, 'the injurious and wicked ſpeeches maintained againſt thoſe in 'whom we ought to place all our confidence; and what may ſtill 'create farther fear in us are the profane diverſions to which we 'are addicted, with greater attachment than ever; the inſufferable 'exceſſes of the games of chance; the impious hypocriſy in 'deriſion, or rather in contempt, of religion; the various crimes 'againſt Heaven, that have been multiplied in the courſe of this 'winter;

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'winter; all theſe, my brethren, ought to make us dread every 'thing, and oblige me to declare to you, that God himſelf is in-'raged, that his arm is prepared to chaſtiſe us, and, in fact, that 'we deſerve it. Yea, my friends, we tell it, in the face of the 'altars, and in the bitterneſs of our heart, that it is not the num-'ber of the enemy, nor their utmoſt efforts, that affright us, and 'make us reflect on the impendent diſaſters both on the ſtate and 'on religion, but our manifold ſins and wickedneſſes. Eighteen 'years have now elapſed, ſince the Lord called us, though unwor-'thy, to watch over this extenſive dioceſe; we have frequently 'ſeen you ſuffer by famine, by diſeaſes, and almoſt continual 'war: nevertheleſs, this year appears to us, in all reſpects, the 'moſt afflictive and deplorable, becauſe, in reality, we are moſt 'criminal. Were there ever ſuch open robberies, ſo many heinous 'acts of injuſtice, ſuch ſhameful rapines heard of? Who has not 'ſeen, in this colony, families devoted, publicly, if I may ſay ſo, 'to crimes of the moſt odious nature? Who ever beheld ſo many 'abominations? — In almoſt all ranks the contagion is nearly uni-'verſal: however, my brethren, matters are not yet remedileſs, 'neither are our misfortunes irretrievable. The Chriſtian faith 'teaches us, that a true and ſincere converſion can ſtop the avenge-'ing hand of Divine juſtice, and that it even hath frequently ſtayed 'it. It is true, the diſeaſe is great, but the remedy is in your own 'power. *O faithleſs Jeruſalem, return to your God: and God, ac-'cording to his promiſe, will deign to relent!* Atone, my dear bre-'thren, I ſay, atone ſpeedily, for the paſt, by the tears of a ſin-'cere repentance; they will be acceptable to the merciful heart 'of God, who never puniſhes his creatures but with regret. Dear 'children, be diligent therein, ſympathiſe with the miniſters of 'the altar, in weeping, wailing, and prayer. Implore the Lord with 'fervency to inlighten ſinners with the miſery of their ſouls, that 'he will affect and convert them: we mean thoſe of our brethren 'who run to their own deſtruction; dread, leſt ye find yourſelves

'involved

1759. Sept. ‘ involved in their calamities; and ye, O ſinners, we beſeech you, ‘ in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, at leaſt be no hindrance to the ‘ bleſſings we aſk for you; come rather, we conjure you by all ‘ that is capable of affecting you; come and ſollicit them, of your ‘ own accord, with a ſpirit full of meekneſs and contrition. For ‘ theſe purpoſes, after conferring with our reſpectable brethren, ‘ the Canons of our cathedral church, having invoked the holy name ‘ of God, we have ordered, and do hereby order, the due per- ‘ formance of the ſervices herein directed.

‘ Imprimis, In the country pariſhes, on the firſt Sunday of ‘ every month ſhall be a proceſſion, without the Hoſt or Sacrament, ‘ to the place, and at the hour, each of the Rectors ſhall appoint. ‘ In that proceſſion ſhall be ſung the litanies of the Saints, then ‘ the pſalm, *Miſerere mei Deus:* and, immediately after the an- ‘ cient and common prayers of ſalutation, the Prieſt ſhall make ‘ an honourable atonement, in the name of ſinners, which he ‘ may find in the ritual for Trinity Sunday.

‘ Secondly, Every ſecular and regular Prieſt ſhall add to the prayers ‘ of the Maſs the prayer of the Miſſal, *Deus refugium.*

‘ Thirdly, In all the benedictions of the Holy Sacrament; ſhall ‘ be ſung the tract, *Domine, non ſecundum,* with the verſicles and ‘ prayer for the remiſſion of ſins.

‘ Fourthly, In the different churches of Quebec, viz. the ca- ‘ thedral, the church of la Victoire in the low town, the ſeminary, ‘ the college of Jeſuits, that of the Recollects and Urſulines, ſhall ‘ be performed alternately a Nona, or Ninth; the Holy Maſs ſhall ‘ be ſaid at ſeven o'clock in the morning; the litanies of the Saints, ‘ and the pſalm, *Miſerere mei Deus,* ſhall be ſung thereat.

‘ An honourable atonement ſhall be made for ſinners, and the ‘ whole concluded with the benediction of the Sacrament, in the ‘ holy Chalice only. On the working-days, the votive Maſſes of ‘ the Holy Angels, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Croſs, of ‘ the Virgin Mary, for all neceſſities, for times of war, and for ‘ peace,

'peace, ſhall be ſaid reciprocally. The Maſs of the Patron of 1759. Sept.
'the church or chapel ſhall be ſaid; firſt, at the Jeſuits of St.
'Francis Xavier; in the low town at St. Genevieve; at the Ur-
'ſulines; at the ſeminary inſtituted for the converſion of ſavages.

'What is preſcribed for Quebec ſhall be obſerved, as much as
'poſſible, at Montreal and the Three Rivers; the camps and
'forts ſhall alſo obſerve what is appointed for the country pariſhes.

'This mandate ſhall be read after the Goſpel of the Maſs of
'the pariſh, on the firſt Sunday, immediately after the receipt
'thereof.

'Given at our epiſcopal palace at Quebec, under our ſign manual,
'the ſeal of our arms, and the ſubſcription of our Secretary,
'this 18th day of April, 1759.

'Signed, H. M. Biſhop of Quebec, and lower,

'By his Lordſhip's command,

'BRIAND, Canon Secretary.'

ORDERS.

"The Commanding Officers of corps to meet Brigadier Murray, 27th.
"at four o'clock this afternoon, to draw for quarters. All French
"deſerters, after being examined by General Monckton, are to be
"ſent to the main-guard, and from thence on board the Admiral.
"One of the Officers of the guard near the dock-yard to go the
"viſiting rounds, at ſuch an hour as the Field-Officer of the day
"in town ſhall appoint; the redoubt, Brigadier Townſhend's late
"quarters, to be occupied by detachments from the piquets; they
"are to get boards to cover one angle of the redoubts, in caſe of
"heavy rain. Whatever Officers have loſt their fuſils are deſired
"to give in their names, and they will receive French ones, as
"far as the few that are in ſtore will go."

Brittle

1759. Sept. Brittle weather. The wooding party at l'Iſle Madame are reinforced to-day by three hundred men, with Officers in proportion. An inhabitant of the town, who belongs to the enemy's light horſe, returned to his family this morning, and refuſed to wait upon, or deliver himſelf up to, the General; he propoſes to return in a few days to his poſt, and inſiſts, that, 'as an inhabitant of Quebec, he 'can, under the capitulation, paſs in or out at pleaſure, without 'being accountable to, or moleſted by, any perſon whatſoever.' Which being reported to the Commander in Chief, his Excellency convinced the fellow of his miſtake, by cauſing him to be arreſted and impriſoned. A boat came down the river to-day under Spaniſh colours; part of the crew waited on the Admiral, to ſollicit permiſſion to bring down their ſhips, and return to their own country. They received, for anſwer, that they ſhould be tranſmitted to Spain, if they would, but not in their own ſhips; for they ſhould be ſeized, being employed in the ſervice of an enemy to the King of Great Britain. Some frigates are gone up the river, with a party of rangers on board.

28th. ORDERS to Colonel Murray's Corps (Grenadiers of Louiſbourg) the ſecond and third Battalions of Royal Americans, and to Colonel Fraſer's Highlanders.

"You are to ſend in immediately a return of your killed and "wounded, ſince the 27th of June; one of your invalids, and a third "of ſuch men as are ſo bad of the ſcurvy as to render them unfit for "any duty. In that of your invalids, you muſt ſpecify your mens' "names, age, ſize, country, ſervice, and the reaſon for diſcharging "them. In the return of the killed and wounded, you need only give "the number of the Non-commiſſioned Officers, rank and file; but "the Officers' names muſt be mentioned, and, if wounded more than "once, that muſt alſo be ſpecified; a particular column muſt diſtinguiſh "thoſe men ill of the ſcurvy from other invalids. The regiments

" and corps in camp are to come into town to-morrow; they will 1759. Sept.
" ſend in their baggage and field equipage to the quarters allotted
" them in the morning; the regiments will march in, at twelve
" o'clock, bringing in their field artillery with them; they are to
" ſend their cannon to the grand parade, and march directly to their
" own quarters. Such regiments as have hoſpitals in their ſuburbs
" are to leave ſmall guards to take care of them, and one Officer is
" to be left in charge of the whole, who is to take a houſe for a
" guard, there aſſemble thoſe ſmall guards, and order what centries
" may be neceſſary for each hoſpital. All thoſe Officers who occu-
" py quarters in town, not belonging to their own regiments' diſ-
" tricts, muſt change to their own quarters. The Brigadier of the
" day will order a working party, at the hour he thinks proper in
" the morning, to level all the redoubts, except that of Major Dal-
" ling's, which is to remain till farther orders, with the detachments
" of piquets in it as uſual."

This has been an inceſſant day of wind and rain. Some of the female inhabitants of Point Levi having preferred a complaint againſt the ſoldiers incamped in that quarter, of their being robbed, and otherwiſe much abuſed by them, the ſeveral detachments were ordered out, that the women might pitch upon the particular aggreſſors; and, being conducted to the right of the marines for that purpoſe, the complainants inſtantly cried out, Theſe were not the ſoldiers who plundered and maltreated us, for they were — '*les gens ſans culottes*:' meaning the Highlanders, which being reported to Colonel Fraſer, he immediately ordered the delinquents to be diſcovered, tried, and puniſhed. It is with pleaſure I record it, for the honour of that corps, that this is the only inſtance they have given of any irregularity, in the whole courſe of their ſervice in Canada; their men being always remarkably ſober, ſteady, and orderly.

ORDERS.

1759. Sept. 29th. "The Commanding Officers of regiments are desired to write "immediately for their cloathing; the cloathing of the fifteenth, "twenty-eighth, forty-third, thirty-fifth, and fifty-eighth, are now "at Louisbourg. Two Captains, fifteen Subalterns, twenty-six "Serjeants, twenty-seven Corporals, thirteen Drummers, and five "hundred and twenty-eight privates of the troops now in garrison, "to parade, at four o'clock this evening, according to the detail "given in. The Captain of the reserve to go the visiting rounds, "at the hour the Field-Officers think proper to appoint. Every "regiment to mount a guard of a Serjeant and twelve men, as a "regimental guard, who are to send patroles, within the district of "the regiment's quarters, every hour, and to take up all sailors and "soldiers they may find, out of their quarters after tattoo; the "gates are to be shut this night."

Weather rough and cold with frequent showers: the troops marched into winter quarters this day, except the forty-eighth regiment, who keep the field by choice, until the Intendant's palace, which is assigned to that corps, is completely fitted up for their reception. For some time our men are likely to be very indifferently lodged, by the inconceivably ruinous condition of the houses in almost every corner of the garrison; but those dwellings particularly that are situated along the summit of the cliff between the high and low town, extending from the Bishop's palace to Cape Diamond (which fell to the lot of the royal artillery, thirty-fifth, and forty-third corps) having been mostly exposed to our batteries, are considerably the greatest sufferers, and must, indeed, undergo incredible repairs, to render them in any degree habitable. The inhabitants of town and country are apprehensive of starving this winter; in the years 1757 and 1758, their harvests failed them; and, though their

crops

crops promiſed well this year, yet the calamities of war (ſay they) have fruſtrated all their proſpects and expectations 1759. Sept.

Monſieur Bougainville, who is now the ſecond in command in the army on this ſide of the colony, came to this garriſon to-day under a flag of truce, and had ſome hours' conference with Generals Monckton and Townſhend; he was afterwards ſent out to the general hoſpital; his errand, or the motives of his coming, have not tranſpired. The citizens inform us, that, if it had not been for the arrival of the ſuccours which they received from France laſt ſpring, and narrowly eſcaped the Engliſh ſquadron then in the river, the garriſon would have ſurrendered to us, after exchanging a few ſhot and ſhells with our batteries, for form's ſake, in order to prevent the ruin of their town, warehouſes, magazines, and particularly their religious houſes. Weather moderate to-day: the two frigates that ſailed up the river are fallen down: they landed a body of ſailors and rangers, about four miles off, in order to procure a quantity of fire-wood that was piled upon the heights; a flying party of the enemy, ſuppoſed to be about fifty, ſhewed themſelves, but did not think proper to advance or moleſt our people: the wood was thrown down the precipice, and corded on the beach by the ſeamen, while the rangers remained above to cover them; after which the former reimbarked, and the latter returned by land to the garriſon. We are repairing our defences, as well as our houſes, with all expedition; ſome additional picket-works, and redoubts of timber, are talked of being erected round the ſuburb of St. Rocque, which, at preſent, lies open to the river Charles, and the lower road leading to the general hoſpital. The late Town-Major of Quebec favoured me with the following table of regulations, which were the reſult of a council of war held, laſt May, upon the arrival of a ſquadron from France, with artillery, ſtores, and proviſions. 30th.

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‘ Diſpoſitions générales pour s'oppoſer à la deſcente des Anglois, ‘ depuis la riviere St. Charles juſqu'au ſaut de Montmorencie ; ‘ de même que pour ſe retirer derriere dite riviere de St. Charles ‘ dans le cas que l'on fût forcé, dans la deſcente, pour defendre ‘ cette riviere ; et ordre de bataille pour combattre et camper, ‘ pendant toute la campagne.

‘ORDRE de BATAILLE.

‘ La brigade de Québec, compoſée de trois milles cinq cents ‘ hommes, aux ordres de Monſieur de St. Ours, campera a la ‘ droite. La brigade de Trois Rivieres, compoſée de neuf cents et ‘ vingt hommes, aux ordres de M. de Borme, campera auſſi a la ‘ droite, et à la gauche de la brigade de Québec. Les troupes de ‘ terre, compoſées de deux milles combattans, aux ordres de M. Se- ‘ neſergues, Brigadier, camperont au centre. La milice de la ville ‘ de Montreal, compoſée de un mille cinq cents et cinquante hommes, ‘ aux ordres de M. Pradhaulm, camperont à la gauche des troupes ‘ de terre ; et la brigade de l'Iſle de Montreal, compoſée de deux ‘ milles trois cents hommes, aux ordres de M. Herbin, formera la ‘ gauche de la ligue. La reſerve * ſera compoſée de la cavalerie, des ‘ troupes legeres, et des ſauvages, aux ordres de Monſieur de B. Hi- ‘ bert. — L'artillerie, aux ordres de M. le Mercier, et les vivres, cam- ‘ peront (auſi bien que la reſerve) aux endroits les plus commodes, ‘ et qui ſeront indiqués. — La milice de la ville de Québec, com- ‘ poſée de ſix cents et cinquante hommes, reſteront pour ſervir de ‘ garniſon a Québec, aux ordres de M. de Ramſay, Lieutenant du ‘ Roi.

* La cavalerie trois cents et cinquante ; la colonie, voluntaires, &c. un mille quatre cents ; les ſauvages quatre cents et cinquante : le total deux milles deux cents.

1759. Sept.

‘ Les deux frigates du Roi reſteront armées *, et du deſarmément ‘ des autres batimens, on armera les batimens deſtinés à combatre ‘ en pirate dans la rade ; et, à meſure que ces batimens deviendront ‘ inutiles, les equipages entreront dans la place pour ſervir aux bat- ‘ teries qui leur auront été indiquées d'avance. Monſieur Vaugeulin, ‘ Commandant de la rade, aura direction de tous les batimes, pour ‘ les employer dans les endroits qu'il croira les plus utiles, ſuivant ‘ l'exigence des cas ; il donnera ſes ordres à tous ceux qui ſont de la ‘ marine ; il ne peut aſſez avoir attention, que les equipages avec ‘ les Officiers ſe bendent exactement aux endroits ou ils ſont été ‘ deſtinés. — Comme M. de Ramſay ne pourra pas donner ſes ordres ‘ en même tems dans toute la ville, il ſeroit neceſſaire qu'il y eût un ‘ Commandant particulier pour la baſſe ville, qui ſeroit cependant ‘ aux ordres de M. de Ramſay et qui agiroit de concert avec lui, de ‘ même que les Officiers de gens et d'artillerie.

‘ DISPOSITION pour s'oppoſer à la DESCENTE.

‘ La ville de Québec, livrée à ſes propres forces, et à celle de la ‘ marine, l'armée paſſera la riviere de St. Charles ; la droite, com- ‘ poſée des brigades de gouvernment de Québec et Trois Rivieres, ‘ campera dans la plaine, depuis la redoute de la canardiere juſqu'au ‘ celle de l'embouchure de la riviere de Beauport ; ces deux brigades ‘ éleveront de la terre pour former un parement dans le front de leur ‘ camp, pour ſe mettre à couvert de la canonade. Tres troupes de ‘ terre, qui forment le centre de l'armée, camperont ſur les hau- ‘ teurs des Beauport, et tout le long du grand chemin du ruiſſeau de ‘ Beauport. La gauche, compoſée des brigades de gouvernment de ‘ Montreal et de milice de la ville, camperont à la gauche de l'é- ‘ gliſe de Beauport, et ſe prolongeront ſur la crête du grand eſcarpe-

* I apprehend there is a defect here, which, from my knowledge of the ſituation and circumſtances, ſhall be elucidated in the tranſlation.

‘ ment.

1759. Sept. ‘ment. La reſerve, compoſée de la cavalerie, des troupes legeres, ‘et des ſauvages, ſe poſterà juſqu'au ſaut de Montmorencie, et s'é- ‘tendra par ſa droite en ſuivant la crête de l'eſcarpement, pour ‘joindre la gauche de la ligue. L'armée dans cette poſition ſe re- ‘trenchera dans tout ſon front, pour ſe mettre à couvert du canon ; ‘et l'on travaillera à fortifier les endroits qui paroitront les plus fa- ‘ciles pour pouvoir ſe porter promptement au ſecours du corps, ou ‘les ennemis feront leurs plus grands efforts. — Comme il y a lieu ‘de penſer que l'ennemi deviſera ſes attaques, nous devons auſſi ‘nous mettre en garde, à fin de pouvoir nous reunir pour tomber ‘avec des forces ſuperieures ſur un de ſes corps qui ſera le plus ‘avancé, et qui nous paroitra le plus à portée d'être combattu avec ‘avantage ; on ne peut rien préſcrire de ce qu'il faudra faire dans ce ‘moment, tout dependera des circonſtances et de la façon dont ‘nous ſeront attaqués. C'eſt à la capacité des Chefs à mettre tout ‘en uſage pour repouſſer l'ennemi, et ne pas l'expoſer à une defaite ‘entiere, en manquant de s'aſſûrer une retraite ; il faudra laiſſer ‘une garde à la tête du pont pour garnir les redoutes, depuis ‘l'embouchure de la riviere de Beauport juſqu'à cette de la canar- ‘diere, de la quantité d'hommes que l'on jugera être neceſſaire pour ‘qu' elles ne puiſſe être emportées l'epée a la main ; il faudra auſſi ‘prendre des precautions pour pouvoir ſe retirer, dans le cas que ‘l'armée ſoit obligée de ſe replier. A l'egard du canon qui ſera aux ‘redoutes, il faudra ſe pourvoir des cloux pour l'enclouer, en cas ‘qu'il ne ſera pas poſſible de les retirer. Dans la ſituation ou nous ‘ſommes c'eſt la ſeule poſition que nous puiſſions prendre, *elle ſera* ‘*audacieuſe et militaire :* il n'y a pas lieu de croire que les ennemis ‘penſent à tenter à paſſer devant la ville, et à faire leurs debarque- ‘ments à l'anſe de mers, autant que les frigates ſubſiſteront ; nous ‘n'avons du moins rien à craindre pour cette partie. Si l'ennemi ‘nous attaque avec des forces ſuperieures, il eſt à craindre que, mal- ‘grè nos efforts, il ne nous force en debarquant, à cauſe du grand

‘terrein

' terrein que nous avons à courir, qui eſt de deux grandes lieues ; 1759
' et il y a lieu de penſer qu'il formera ſon attaque principale depuis Sept.
' la riviere de Beauport juſqu' au ſaut de Montmorencie ; et nous
' avons peu de moyens pour nous y oppoſer, par l'apprehenſion que
' nous avons, que ſi nous y portions nos plus grandes forces les en-
' nemis ne changent leur attaque, et ne viennent faire leur debarque-
' ment entre la canardiere et la riviere de Beauport, ce qui couperoit
' nôtre retraite au poſte de la riviere St. Charles ; ſi les ennemis,
' comme il y a apparence, font debarquement à l'entrée de la riviere
' de Beauport, et que la reſerve ſe retire en catoyant les bois par le
' grand chemin qui conduit du ſaut de Montmorencie à Charle-
' bourg, elle s'arrêtera derriere le ruiſſeau de Beauport à l'entrée du
' bois et fordera cette même riviere appuyant la gauche au bois qui
' eſt au deſſus du moulin de M. de Chenet, et prolongera la droite
' juſqu'aux redoutes qui ſeront ſur le bord du fleuve ; dans cette po-
' ſition l'armée pourra obſerver les mouvemens des ennemis, et ne
' pourra que retarder leurs operations : le poſte n'eſt bon que ſur le
' front qui eſt l'eſcarpement de la riviere ; et, auſi tot que les en-
' nemis ſe poſteront ſur nôtre gauche, et qu'ils depoſteront la re-
' ſerve il ne ſera plus ſoutenable, et l'armée ſera obligée de ſe retirer
' derriere la riviere St. Charles, il faudra evacuer les redoutes du
' coté du fleuve, l'armée pourra ſe retirer ſur deux colonnes, et re-
' paſſer la riviere St. Charles, ſur les deux ponts ; la reſerve ſe repliera
' ſur Charlebourg, et, ſi elle eſt vivement ſuivie, elle continuera ſa
' retraite ſur le chemin du Lorette, en obſervant de s'arrêter au pre-
' mier endroit ou elle ne ſera pas ſi vivement ſuivie, et qu'elle
' pourra reſiſter aux forces des ennemis ſuperieures. Ce que pour-
' roit nous être le plus avantageux ſeroit que l'ennemi ne fît ſon
' debarquement que depuis la riviere St. Charles juſqu'au celle de
' Beauport, parce qu'alors nous reſervons toutes nos forces pour les
' attaquer ; & ſi, malgrè nos efforts, nous ayons le malheur d'être
' repouſſés, l'armée ſe replieroit ſur les deux ponts, et repaſſer la

1759. Sept. ‘ riviere St. Charles. La reſerve ſe replieroit ſur Charlebourg par le ‘ chemin qui paſſe ſur le Côteau et qui y conduit; l'armée ayant été ‘ forcée de ſe replier derriere la riviere St. Charles, campera ſa droite ‘ au pont, et prolongera ſa gauche le plus que ſe pourra faire; et ‘ il faudra par des poſtes occuper le terrein juſqu'à la ferme de M. ‘ Cadet, et l'on ſe retrenchera le mieux qui ſera poſſible juſqu'à la ‘ ville. Il eſt de la plus grande importance pour le ſalut de cette ‘ colonie de defendre cette poſition qui eſt *la derniere* pour empecher ‘ les ennemis de faire le ſiége de Québec; car étant certain que, ſi ‘ nous avons le malheur de perdre cette place, la colonie eſt aux ‘ abois; et, ſi nous la perdons avant la fin du mois d'Aouſt, il eſt à ‘ craindre qu' ayant à faire avec un ennemi auſi puiſſant, qu'il ne ‘ nous ſuive dans l'interieur du païs, et, cotoyant toujours le fleuve, ‘ qu'il ne cherche à faire ſa jonction avec les armées, qui de bouchent ‘ par le lac Champlain, et le lac Ontario. — Nous devons donc ‘ mettre tout en uſage pour empecher la priſe de Québec, ou du ‘ moins, pour la retarder le plus que nous ſera poſſible.’

I ſhall here annex a tranſlation for the Engliſh reader.

‘ General diſpoſitions for oppoſing the invaſion of the Britiſh ‘ forces, from the river St. Charles to the cataract of Montmo- ‘ rency; and likewiſe for retiring behind the ſaid river, in caſe ‘ they ſhould be forced, in the deſcent, to defend the ſame: the ‘ order of battle, and the manner of fighting, to be obſerved, in ‘ the whole courſe of the campaign.

ORDER of BATTLE.

‘ The brigade of Quebec, compoſed of three thouſand five hun- ‘ dred men, commanded by Mr. St. Ours, ſhall incamp on the right. ‘ The brigade of the Three Rivers, compoſed of nine hundred and ‘ twenty men, commanded by M. de Borme, ſhall alſo incamp on ‘ the

'the right, and to the left of the Quebec brigade; the land forces*, 1759. Sept.
'conſiſting of two thouſand regulars, under the command of Bri-
'gadier Seneſergues, ſhall incamp in the center. The Montreal
'militia, amounting to eleven hundred and fifty men, commanded
'by M. Pradhaulm, ſhall incamp on the left of the land-forces;
'and the brigade of the iſland of Montreal, conſiſting of two thou-
'ſand three hundred men, commanded by M. Herbin, ſhall form
'the left of the line. The reſerve ſhall be compoſed of the ca-
'valry (three hundred and fifty) light troops (ſelect men from the
'colony troops, with ſome volunteers from Acadia, one thouſand
'four hundred) and ſavages, four hundred and fifty, (in all two
'thouſand two hundred) commanded by M. B. Hibert. The ar-
'tillery, ſtores, and proviſions, under the direction of M. Mercier,
'ſhall incamp, as well as the reſerve, in the places moſt ſuitable,
'and which ſhall be appointed for them. The Quebec militia,
'compoſed of ſix hundred and fifty men, ſhall be left as a garriſon,
'commanded by the King's Lieutenant M. de Ramſay. The two
'royal frigates ſhall be unrigged, and grounded in the entrance of
'St. Charles's river, in ſuch manner as to render them ſerviceable
'for the defence thereof, and the adjoining ſhores. The veſſels,
'appointed to fight piratically in the bay, ſhall be equipped by the
'diſarming of other veſſels; and, as thoſe veſſels ſhall happen to
'become uſeleſs, their crews muſt repair to the town, to aſſiſt at the
'batteries which ſhall be appointed for them before-hand. M.
'Vaugeulin, Commodore of the bay, ſhall have the direction of
'all floats, galliots, and other craft, in order to employ them as he
'ſhall think moſt advantageous, conſiſtently with the exigence of
'affairs; he ſhall give his orders to all the marine department, and
'muſt be very attentive, that the crews and their Officers ſhall be

* To diſtinguiſh between the battalions of French regulars, and the independent companies of marines, or colony troops.

1759. Sept. ‘ precisely at the places destined for them. As M. de Ramsay cannot give his orders, at one and the same time, throughout the whole town, there will be a necessity for appointing a particular Commandant for the lower town, who shall nevertheless be subject to the command of the said Lieutenant, and shall act in concert with him, in like manner as the Officers of the ordnance and the artillery.

The Disposition for opposing the Descent.

‘ The garrison left to it's own force, and that of the marine; the army shall pass the river St. Charles; the right, composed of the brigades of Quebec and Three Rivers governments, shall incamp in the plain, from the duck-decoy redoubt to that at the mouth of the river Beauport. Those two brigades shall intrench the front of their camp, in order to cover them from the enemy's cannon. The land troops, forming the center of the army, shall incamp on the eminences of Beauport, and along the high road on the rivulet of that village. The left, composed of the brigades of the city and government of Montreal, shall incamp to the left of Beauport church, and extend themselves along the summit of the grand scarp *. The reserve, composed of the cavalry, light troops, and savages, shall be posted even to the cascade of Montmorencie, and spread its right along the said scarp, in order to join the left of the line. The army in this position shall intrench its intire front, to shelter them from the enemy's cannon; also the places that shall appear most proper to serve as communications with the main body, and where the enemy may make the greatest efforts, must be fortified.

* A ridge of high land, which overlooks the shore, in the front, and along the coast, of that village or parish: this, I believe, is what is meant by *Crête du grand escarpement.*

1759. Sept.

'As there is reaſon to think the enemy will divide their attacks, 'we ought alſo to put ourſelves on our guard, ſo as to be able 'to unite and fall with ſuperior force on ſuch of their corps as 'ſhall be moſt advanced, and which ſhall appear moſt liable to 'be beaten with advantage; it cannot be preſcribed what ſhall 'be done at that inſtant; the whole will depend on circumſtances, 'and the manner we ſhall be attacked in; it muſt be left to the 'diſcretion of the Commanders to exert their utmoſt abilities in 'repelling the enemy, without expoſing themſelves to an intire 'overthrow, for want of a ſecure retreat. A ſufficient guard 'muſt be left at the head of the bridge, to furniſh the redoubts, 'from the rivulet of Beauport to the duck-decoy, with ſuch a 'number of men as ſhall be judged neceſſary to prevent 'being taken ſuddenly, ſword in hand. Precautions ſhould 'alſo be taken, for retiring with ſafety, in caſe the army ſhould 'be obliged to give way; and, as to the cannon in the re-'doubts, it will be neceſſary to be provided with ſpikes to nail 'them up, leſt it ſhould not be poſſible to bring them off with 'us. In our ſituation, this is the only poſition we can take, '*daring and military*. There is no room to ſuppoſe that the 'enemy will attempt to paſs before the town, and land at the 'jettée, whilſt the frigates remain there: there is nothing to ap-'prehend in that quarter. If the enemy attack us with ſuperior 'force, it is to be feared, notwithſtanding our beſt efforts, they 'will rout us at landing, becauſe of the great extent of ground 'we have to defend, above two leagues in length; and, ſeeing 'it may be conjectured they will form their principal attack 'between Beauport river and Montmorencie, it is to be ſuſpected 'leſt, by drawing our forces thither, they will change their attack, 'and land between Beauport and the decoy, where finding only 'a feeble reſiſtance, they may then effectually cut off our retreat, 'from the poſt on the river St. Charles; but, if the enemy, as 'there is room to think, ſhould make their deſcent at the entrance

1759. Sept. ‘ of the river Beauport, and the reſerve ſhould be forced to retire, ‘ along the ſkirt of the woods, by the high road leading from ‘ Montmorencie to Charlebourg, then the ſaid reſerve ſhall poſt ‘ itſelf behind the rivulet of Beauport, at the entrance of the ‘ wood, and, by fording it there, turn its left towards the foreſt ‘ above Mr. Chenet's mill, and extend its right to the redoubts ‘ on the bank of the river; in this poſition the army will be able ‘ to obſerve the enemy's motions, and have it in their power to ‘ retard their operations; but the poſt is good for nothing, except ‘ in the front upon the bank, or ſcarp, of the main river: be- ‘ cauſe, as ſoon as the enemy ſhall poſſeſs our left, and have routed ‘ their ſerve, it will be no longer tenable, and our forces will be ‘ obliged to withdraw behind the river St. Charles; in that caſe, ‘ the redoubts on the ſide of the river muſt be evacuated, and the ‘ army retire in two columns by the pontoon bridge over the little ‘ river; the reſerve ſhall return by Charlebourg, and, if it is ‘ briſkly preſſed, it ſhall continue its retreat by the high road lead- ‘ ing to Lorette, obſerving to halt at the firſt defile, to check the ‘ ardour of the purſuers. The moſt advantageous event for us ‘ will be the enemy's not landing, except from the river St. Charles ‘ to that of Beauport, becauſe, in ſuch a caſe, we ſhall employ ‘ all our forces to attack them; but, if, notwithſtanding our utmoſt ‘ efforts, we have the misfortune to be repulſed, the army ſhall ‘ incline to the bridge, and repaſs the river St. Charles. The re- ‘ ſerve ſhall alſo retire to Charlebourg, by the upper road leading ‘ thereto. If the army ſhould be compelled to retreat behind ‘ the river St. Charles, it ſhall incamp its right to the bridge, and ‘ extend its left as far as poſſible; the country muſt be occupied ‘ by different poſts up to Mr. Cadet's farm, and the whole will ‘ intrench themſelves as ſecurely as poſſible to the town. It will ‘ be of the laſt importance for the ſafety of the colony to defend ‘ this poſition, which is our *Ultimatum*, for preventing Quebec's falling

‘ into

'into the enemy's hands; for it is certain, if we ſhould have 1759. Sept.
'the misfortune to be overpowered, or routed there, the colony
'is irrecoverable; and, if we ſhould loſe the town before the
'expiration of the month of Auguſt, it is to be apprehended,
'that, having ſo powerful an enemy to contend with, they will
'follow us into the heart of the country, and, by commanding
'the navigation of the river, endeavour to effect a junction with
'the armies that are to deſcend by the lakes Champlain and
'Ontario. — In fine, it is incumbent on us to exert our moſt
'ſtrenuous efforts to defend and preſerve Quebec, or, at leaſt,
'to retard the reduction of it, as long as poſſible; becauſe it is
'evident that the fate of the colony will depend intirely upon that
'of its capital.'

Having deduced our tranſactions, on this ſide of the colony, in the order in which they happened, and ſeeing that the buſineſs of the campaign has been ſo ſucceſsfully accompliſhed by the acquiſition of the capital for our winter quarters, I ſhall now take a farther review of our proceedings, in as ſuccinct a manner as poſſible, from the time ſpecified in the commencement of this volume. The various impediments which the nature of the country, and the ſtrength of the enemy, threw in our way, together with the painful and tedious indiſpoſition of our late *memorable General*, retarded our operations conſiderably; inſomuch that we do not find many intereſting events in the whole month of Auguſt. The diſagreeable neceſſity the troops were under of diſtreſſing the inhabitants every-where; our batteries continuing to keep the town in ruin; the reinforcing our fleet in the upper river; our light troops, and others, ſkirmiſhing, in various places, with the French irregulars; the General's withdrawing his forces, without loſs, from the fall of Montmorencie, after, in vain, endeavouring to ſeduce the enemy from their intrenchments to fight him in that camp, and preparing, at Point Levi, to put the finiſhing ſtroke to the important conteſt between us and the French army; are all the

1759. Sept. the material occurrences we meet with until the beginning of this month. The momentous, intrepid, and judicious movements ſo admirably concerted, which afterwards took place; the unanimity that ſubſiſted between our naval and military Commanders, together with the zeal and activity of the marine department on all occaſions; and every eſſential incident that happened between that period and the ſurrender of Quebec; will be more clearly illuſtrated by the copy I have the pleaſure to annex of General Townſhend's letter to his Majeſty's Secretary of State.

Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.

'I have the honour to acquaint you with the ſucceſs of his 'Majeſty's arms, on the 13th inſtant, in an action with the 'French, on the heights to the weſtward of this town. It being 'determined to carry the operations above the town, the poſts at 'Point Levi and l'Iſle d'Orleans being ſecured, the General march-'ed, with the remainder of the force, from Point Levi, the 5th 'and 6th; and embarked them in tranſports, which had paſſed 'the town for that purpoſe. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a move-'ment of the ſhips was made by Admiral Holmes, in order to 'amuſe the enemy, now poſted along the north ſhore; but, the 'tranſports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, 'the General thought proper to canton half his troops on the 'ſouth ſhore, where they were refreſhed, and reimbarked upon 'the 12th, at one in the morning. The light infantry, command-'ed by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Laſcelles, 'and Anſtruther, with a detachment of Highlanders and the 'American Grenadiers, the whole being under the command of 'Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were put into the flat-bottomed 'boats; and, after ſome movement of the ſhips, made by Admiral 'Holmes, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats 'fell down with the tide, and landed on the north ſhore, within

'a league

'a league of Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break: the ra- 1759. Sept.
'pidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the in-
'tended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to
'ſcramble up a woody precipice, in order to ſecure the landing
'of the troops by diſlodging a Captain's poſt, which defended
'the ſmall intrenched path the troops were to aſcend. After a
'little firing the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and
'diſperſed the Captain's poſt; by which means the troops, with
'a very little loſs from a few Canadians and Indians in the wood,
'got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they
'emptied, were ſent back for the ſecond imbarkation, which
'I immediately made. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached
'with Anſtruther's battalion to attack the four-gun battery upon
'the left, was recalled by the General, who now ſaw the French
'army croſſing the river St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon
'began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louiſ-
'bourg Grenadiers; on the right of theſe again he afterwards
'brought Otway's; to the left of the grenadiers were Bragg's,
'Kennedy's Laſcelles's, Highlanders, and Anſtruther's; the right
'of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the
'left by Brigadier Murray; his rear and left were protected by
'Colonel Howe's light infantry, who was returned from the four-
'gun battery, before-mentioned, which was ſoon abandoned to him.
'— General Montcalm, having collected the whole of his force
'from the Beauport ſide, and advancing, ſhewed his intention to
'flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with General
'Amherſt's battalion, which I formed *en potence* *. My numbers
'were ſoon after increaſed by the arrival of the two battalions of

* It may be neceſſary to explain this military term to ſome of my readers. The right wing of the regiment keeps its proper front; the left goes to the left about, makes a half wheel, and then faces to the right about; by which it forms an angle with two fronts: and the whole may be moved obliquely or otherwiſe.

'Royal

1759. Sept. ‘ Royal Americans; and Webb's was drawn up by the General, as ‘ a reſerve, in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. The enemy ‘ lined the buſhes in their front with fifteen hundred Indians and ‘ Canadians; and, I dare ſay, had placed moſt of their beſt markſ- ‘ men there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular, fire ‘ upon our whole line, who bore it with the greateſt patience ‘ and good order, reſerving their fire for the main body, now ad- ‘ vancing. This fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our ‘ poſts in our front, which protected the forming our own line. ‘ The right of the enemy was compoſed of half the troops of the ‘ colony, the battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, and the remainder ‘ of their Canadians and Indians. Their center was a column, ‘ and formed by the battalions of Bearn and Guienne. Their left ‘ was compoſed of the remainder of the troops of the colony, and the ‘ battalion of Royal Rouſillon. This was, as near as I can gueſs, their ‘ line of battle. They brought up two pieces of ſmall artillery againſt ‘ us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun, which, being ad- ‘ mirably well ſerved, galled their column exceedingly. My attention ‘ to the left will not permit me to be very exact, with regard to every ‘ circumſtance which paſſed in the center, much leſs to the right; but ‘ it is moſt certain, that the enemy formed in good order, and that ‘ their attack was very briſk and animated on that ſide. Our troops ‘ reſerved their fire till within forty yards, which was ſo well con- ‘ tinued, that the enemy every-where gave way. It was then our ‘ General fell at the head of Bragg's and the Louiſbourg grenadiers, ‘ advancing with their bayonets: about the ſame time Brigadier ‘ General Monckton received his wound at the head of Laſcelles's. ‘ In the front of the oppoſite battalions, fell alſo M. Montcalm, and ‘ his ſecond in command is ſince dead of his wounds on board our ‘ fleet. Part of the enemy made a ſecond faint attack; part took ‘ to ſome thick coppice-wood, and ſeemed to make a ſtand. It ‘ was at this moment that each corps ſeemed in a manner to exert ‘ itſelf, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers,

‘ Bragg's

'Bragg's, Kennedy's, and Laſcelles's preſſed on with bayonets. 1759. Sept.
'Brigadier Murray, advancing briſkly with the troops under his
'command, completed the route on this ſide, when the Highlanders,
'ſupported by Anſtruther's, took to their broad ſwords, and drove
'part into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the
'river St. Charles. The action, on our left and rear, was not ſo
'ſevere. The houſes, into which the light infantry were thrown,
'were well defended, being ſupported by Colonel Howe, who,
'taking poſt with two companies behind a ſmall coppice, and fre-
'quently ſallying upon the flanks of the enemy, during their attack,
'drove them often into heaps; againſt the front of which body
'I advanced platoons of Amherſt's regiment, which totally pre-
'vented the right wing from executing their firſt intention. Before
'this, one of the Royal American battalions had been detached
'to preſerve our communication with our boats; and, the other
'being ſent to occupy the ground which Brigadier Murray's move-
'ment had left open, I remained with Amherſt's to ſupport this
'diſpoſition, and to keep back the enemy's right, and a body of their
'ſavages, which waited ſtill more towards our rear, oppoſite to
'the poſts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall
'upon our rear. This was the ſituation of things, as I was told,
'in the action that I commanded: I immediately repaired to the
'center, and, finding the purſuit had put part of the troops in diſ-
'order, I formed them as ſoon as poſſible. Scarce was this effected,
'when M. de Bougainville, with his corps from Cape Rouge, of
'two thouſand men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces
'of artillery and two battalions towards him; upon which he
'retired. You will not, I flatter myſelf, blame me, for not
'quitting ſuch advantageous ground, and riſquing the fate of ſo
'deciſive a day, by ſeeking a freſh enemy, poſted perhaps in the
'very kind of ground he could wiſh for, viz. woods and ſwamps.
'We took a great number of French Officers upon the field of
'battle, and one piece of cannon: their loſs is computed to be

1759. Sept. ‘ about fifteen hundred men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars.
‘ I have been employed, from the day of action to that of the
‘ capitulation, in redoubting our camp beyond inſult; in making
‘ a road up the precipice for our cannon; in getting up the artillery,
‘ preparing the batteries, and cutting off their communication
‘ with their country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any bat-
‘ tery erected, or could have any for two or three days, a flag of
‘ truce came out with propoſals of capitulation, which I ſent back
‘ again to the town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no
‘ farther treaty. The Admiral had at this time brought up his large
‘ ſhips, as intending to attack the town. The French Officer returned
‘ at night, with the terms of capitulation; which, with the Admiral,
‘ were conſidered, agreed to, and ſigned, at eight in the morning,
‘ the 18th inſtant. — The terms we granted will, I flatter myſelf, be
‘ approved of by his Majeſty, conſidering the enemy aſſembling in our
‘ rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet and cold
‘ ſeaſon, which threatened our troops with ſickneſs, and the fleet
‘ with ſome accident; it had made our road ſo bad, that we could
‘ not bring up a gun for ſome time; add to this the advantage of
‘ entering the town with the walls in a defenſible ſtate, and the
‘ being able to put a garriſon there, ſtrong enough to prevent all
‘ ſurpriſe. Theſe, I hope, will be deemed ſufficient conſiderations
‘ for granting them the terms I have the honour to tranſmit to you:
‘ the inhabitants of the country come into us faſt, bringing in
‘ their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace
‘ determine their ſituation. — By deſerters we learn that the enemy
‘ are re-aſſembling what troops they can behind Cape Rouge;
‘ that Monſieur de Levis is come down from the Montreal ſide
‘ to command them; ſome ſay he has brought two battalions with
‘ him; if ſo, this blow has already aſſiſted General Amherſt. By
‘ other deſerters we learn, that M. de Bougainville, with eight
‘ hundred men and proviſions, was on his march to fling himſelf

into

'into the town the 18th, the very morning it capitulated; on which 1759. Sept.
'day we had not completed the inveſtiture of the place, as they had
'broken down their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very
'ſtrong works on the other ſide of the river St. Charles. I ſhould not
'do juſtice to the Admirals, and the naval ſervice, if I neglected this
'occaſion of acknowledging how much we are indebted, for our ſuc-
'ceſs, to the conſtant aſſiſtance and ſupport received from them,
'*and the perfect harmony and correſpondence which has prevailed*
'*throughout all our operations,* in the uncommon difficulties which
'the nature of this country, in particular, preſents to military ope-
'rations of a great extent, and which no army can itſelf ſolely
'ſupply; the immenſe labour in artillery, ſtores, and proviſions;
'the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our
'artillery by the ſeamen, even in the heat of action; it is my duty,
'ſhort as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that time,
'how great a ſhare the navy has had in this ſucceſsful campaign.'

It has been already obſerved, that part of our troops took poſſeſſion of the upper, and a detachment from the navy, in like manner, of the lower town, on the 18th inſtant; from that time to the 30th, we have been landing proviſions, ammunition, and ſtores of all kinds from the fleet; taking the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants within the government of Quebec, and diſarming them; levelling our redoubts; forming a large magazine of faſcines, &c. procuring fire-wood for preſent uſe; clearing the garriſon, and repairing houſes for the reception of the troops; we alſo evacuated the poſts at Point Levi and the Iſle of Orleans; removed our camp nearer to the town, and afterwards marched into quarters for the winter; we embarked the French troops for Europe, with ſuch of our ſick and wounded men as were recoverable; the latter to be tranſmitted to the ſouthward, for the ſpeedier re-eſtabliſhment of their health; and ſuch as were rendered unfit for ſervice were diſcharged, and put on board a ſhip, in order to be conveyed to England, and provided for at their eaſe, for the remainder of their lives. Add to this the

1759. Sept. securing the avenues from the country to the town, ſtrengthening our defences, as much as poſſible, for the preſent, and making ſuch farther proviſion for the comfort and ſafety of the army who are to remain here, as the ſeaſon and our preſent circumſtances will admit of. Thus have our forces nobly ſurmounted a great variety of the moſt inconceivable difficulties, and, with a truly Britiſh ſpirit, perfected as irkſome and laborious a campaign as ever was heretofore conducted. It is now time to take a view of the tranſactions of the armies upon the lakes, where we ſhall find they have been exerting, with equal valour, their utmoſt efforts in the proſecution of the war in that quarter.

Camp before Ticonderoga, Auguſt 1, 1759.

Auguſt 1ſt. A party who had been on a ſcout returned this day at noon, and reported, that the enemy have abandoned Crown Point; upon this intelligence the ſecond battalion of Royal Highlanders were detached to Oſwego, to reinforce, if neceſſary, the army before Niagara. We have ſet the ſaw-mill to work, and have got a new radeau nearly completed; the army are employed in removing proviſions, artillery, and ſtores, for the convenience of embarking them, as ſoon as batteaus and whale-boats can be launched in the lake Champlain, in which we are uſing all expedition.

3d. The exceſſive heavy rain we had yeſterday retarded our works, and prevented our launching the batteaus and whale-boats; we expect our new radeau will be intirely finiſhed and ready to launch tomorrow. A ſcouting party from Crown Point brought in a deſerter from the ſeventeenth regiment in a French uniform: as this fellow had been pardoned for deſertion before, the General ordered him to be hanged immediately, *in terrorem*. A detachment of rangers were ſent this day by land to Crown Point, in order to intercept any ſculking parties of the enemy who may occupy the woods, with an intent to ſurpriſe our people here, after the departure of the army.

The

1759. (Sept. 30th.) Auguſt 4th.

The army embarked very early this morning, but could not put off immediately, for want of batteaus for one of the regular regiments, which, however, were ſoon obtained; and we proceeded in four columns as before, and arrived at Crown Point, about four in the afternoon; the troops were inſtantly landed, and diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as to prevent any ſurpriſe: part of the army remained all night on their arms, and the reſt were incamped. Now that we have got into the habit of chacing the enemy from poſt to poſt, our only apprehenſions are, leſt the ſeaſon will not permit us to take up our winter quarters at Montreal, (to which we repute this place half-way from Albany) and thereby aſſiſt more effectually the forces before Quebec. The reduction of Crown Point is, indeed, a great acquiſition to his Majeſty's arms, as it ſecures the whole country hence to New-York, and about lake Champlain; at the head of which it is ſituated, on a ſmall point of land that is ſurrounded on all ſides by branches of this lake; the country hereabout appears to be extremely fruitful, and regales the eyes with the moſt agreeable proſpects imaginable; immenſe quantities of ſugar-trees grow here; and a root, that, I have heard, is in high repute with the natives of China, called Ginſeng, is alſo in great abundance; which is a fine aromatic, and is much eſteemed by the Indians of theſe parts for its medicinal virtues; between this fortreſs and thoſe of Ticonderoga, conſiderable quantities of artillery ſtores of all kinds, with intrenching tools, ſeveral pieces of cannon, mortars, howitzers, (all of iron) and ſome ſmall arms, have fallen into our hands: their largeſt guns are eighteen-pounders, and from that down to four-pounders, beſides ſwivels.

5th.

A new fort is to be erected here, with all poſſible diſpatch; orders are given, that the ground be immediately marked out; and Colonel Eyre, the chief Engineer, has made choice of a moſt eligible ſpot for this purpoſe. Late laſt night, an Officer arrived expreſs from Niagara, with the agreeable news of the ſurrender of that important place; the terms on which it capitulated, with a tranſcript of

1759. (Sept. 30th.) Auguſt. Sir William Johnſon's letter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, I ſhall preſent to the reader, being the moſt authentic accounts of this glorious event:

'I have the honour to acquaint you, by Lieutenant Moncrief, 'that Niagara ſurrendered to his Majeſty's arms, on the 25th in- 'ſtant. A detachment of twelve hundred men, with a number of 'Indians, under the command of Meſſieurs Aubry and de Lignery, 'collected from Detroit, Venango, and Preſqu' Iſle, made an at- 'tempt to reinforce the garriſon, the 24th in the morning; but, 'as I had intelligence of them, I made a diſpoſition to intercept 'them. The evening before, I ordered the light infantry and pi- 'quets to take poſt on the road upon our left, leading from Nia- 'gara-falls to the fort; in the morning, I reinforced theſe with 'two companies of grenadiers, and part of the forty-ſixth regi- 'ment. The action began about half an hour after nine; but they 'were ſo well received by the troops in front, and the Indians 'on their flank, that, in an hour's time, the whole was complete- 'ly ruined, and all their Officers made priſoners, among whom 'are M. Aubry, de Lignery, Marin, Repentini, to the number of 'ſeventeen. I cannot aſcertain the number of the killed, they are 'ſo diſperſed among the woods; but their loſs is great. As this 'happened under the eyes of the garriſon, I thought proper to 'ſend my laſt ſummons to the Commanding Officer, for his ſurren- 'dering, which he liſtened to. I incloſe you the capitulation: 'M. Moncrief will inform you of the ſtate of our ammunition 'and proviſions; I hope care will be taken to forward an imme- 'diate ſupply of both to Oſwego. As the troops that were de- 'feated yeſterday were drawn from thoſe poſts which lie in General 'Stanwix's route, I am in hopes it will be of the utmoſt conſe- 'quence to the ſucceſs of his expedition. The public ſtores of the 'garriſon, that can be ſaved from the Indians, I ſhall order the Aſ- 'ſiſtant Quarter-Maſter-General and the Clerk of the ſtores to take 'an account of, as ſoon as poſſible. As all my attention at preſent

'is

'is taken up with the Indians, that the capitulation I have agreed 1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.
'to may be obſerved, your Excellency will excuſe my not being
'more particular. Permit me to aſſure you, in the whole progreſs
'of the ſiege, which was ſevere and painful, the Officers and men
'behaved with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and bravery. I have only
'to regret the loſs of General Prideaux and Colonel Johnſon. I
'endeavoured to purſue the late General's vigorous meaſures, the
'good effects of which he deſerved to enjoy.' Nothing could be more fortunate and critical than M. Aubry's attempting to relieve the place, and the intire defeat of his detachment; for I am aſſured, that Sir William Johnſon was much ſtreightened for proviſions and ammunition, occaſioned by ſome unforeſeen delay in the expected convoys that were forwarded to his army; but, as the ſucceſs of that action brought on the immediate ſurrender of the garriſon, his troops thereby happily procured a moſt ſeaſonable ſupply of both theſe articles. It was on the 23d of July that Sir William received intelligence, by ſome of his ſcouts, of the approach of the enemy to relieve the fort, and inſtantly made a diſpoſition to defeat their intentions. The guard of the trenches was commanded by Major Beckwith; and, leſt the garriſon ſhould ſally out, and either attempt to ſurpriſe or overpower that guard, and thereby hem in our troops between two fires, Sir William very judiciouſly poſted the forty-fourth regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, in ſuch manner as to be able to ſuſtain the Major, upon the firſt alarm. The road on the left of the line, which leads from the cataract to the fort, was occupied by the light infantry and piquets of the army, on the evening of the 23d; and, early next morning, theſe were reinforced by the grenadiers and part of the forty-ſixth regiment, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre Maſſey; to whoſe good conduct in the diſtribution of the troops, and the ſteadineſs with which he received the enemy in front, while our Indians attacked them on the flanks, the honour of the day is, in a great meaſure, attributed. Our ſavages endeavoured, before the

engagement

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. engagement began, to hold a *Talk* with thoſe in alliance with the French, hoping, as their affairs were growing deſperate, to be able to ſeduce them to take part with us, or, at leaſt, to obſerve a neutrality; but the enemy's Indians declined the interview, whereupon the uſual ſignal of yelling and ſhouting was given, for the action to begin, by the barbarians on both ſides. Among the priſoners were ſeven Captains; the firſt and ſecond in command were both wounded, as was the Officer who had the direction of the Indians. Sir William Johnſon merits the higheſt applauſe from his King and country, and his inclination to put a ſtop to the farther effuſion of human blood was truly laudable; to this end he detached Major Harvey to the Governor, with a detail of what had happened, and a liſt of the captives in his poſſeſſion; recommending it to him to ſurrender, leſt, by forcing him to extremities, he ſhould not have it in his power to reſtrain his Indians, who would, doubtleſs, by an obſtinate fruitleſs reſiſtance, become too much inraged to be with-held. The Governor thought proper to liſten to theſe propoſals; but, in order to be aſcertained of the reality of the diſcomfit, he ſent an Officer out to take a view of the priſoners, who were immediately produced to him. In conſequence of this ocular demonſtration, the garriſon capitulated; the troops conſiſted of above ſix hundred men, beſides ſeveral females and a great many Officers. The place was well provided with a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, ammunition, and ſtores of every kind; above forty pieces of cannon, from two to fourteen pounders, nineteen of which were twelve-pounders; ſeveral mortars, and an immenſe number of hand-granadoes. Here are the terms on which this reſpectable acquiſition was ceded to his Majeſty's victorious arms, on the 25th of July, 1759.

ARTICLES of CAPITULATION granted to the Garriſon of NIAGARA.

'Iſt. The gariſon ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, 'drum beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a ſmall piece

'of

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.

'of cannon, to embark on board ſuch veſſels as the Commander of 'his Britannic Majeſty's forces ſhall furniſh to convey them to 'New-York, by the ſhorteſt road, and in the ſhorteſt manner. 'GRANTED.

'II. The garriſon ſhall lay down their arms, when they embark; but ſhall keep their baggage. — GRANTED.

'III. The Officers ſhall keep both their arms and their baggage. '— GRANTED.

'IV. The French Ladies, with their children and other women, 'as well as the Chaplain, ſhall be ſent to Montreal; and the Com-'mander of his Britannic Majeſty's troops ſhall furniſh them with 'veſſels and ſubſiſtence neceſſary for their voyage to the firſt French 'port; and this is to be executed, as ſoon as poſſible. Thoſe wo-'men who chuſe to follow their huſbands are at liberty to do it. — 'GRANTED, except with regard to thoſe women who are his 'Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects.

'V. The ſick and wounded, who are obliged to remain in the 'fort, ſhall have liberty to depart with every thing that belongs to 'them, and ſhall be conducted in ſafety, as ſoon as able to ſupport 'the fatigues of a voyage, to a place deſtined for the reſt of the 'garriſon; in the mean time, they are to be allowed a guard for 'their ſecurity. — GRANTED.

'VI. The Commanding Officer, all the other Officers and pri-'vate men, who are in the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, 'ſhall quit the fort, without being ſubject to any act of repriſals 'whatſoever. — GRANTED.

'VII. An inventory ſhall be made of all the military ſtores in 'the magazine, which, with the artillery, ſhall be delivered up, '*bona fide*, as well as all other effects which are the property of his 'moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and which are found in the magazine, at 'the time of the capitulation. GRANTED, and the veſſels and 'boats are included in this article.

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'VIII. The ſoldiers ſhall not be plundered nor ſeparated from their 'Officers. — GRANTED.

'IX. The garriſon ſhall be conducted under a proper eſcort to 'the place deſtined for their reception; the General ſhall expreſſly 'recommend to this eſcort to hinder the Indians from approach- 'ing and inſulting any perſons belonging to the garriſon, and ſhall 'prevent their being pillaged by them, when they quit their arms 'for embarkation; and the ſame care is to be taken on every part 'of the route, where ſavages may be met with. — GRANTED.

'X. An exact liſt ſhall be made of the names and ſurnames of 'the different troops, as well regulars as militia; and of all others 'who are employed in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſervice; and 'all thoſe who are ſo employed ſhall be treated in the ſame man- 'ner as the reſt of the garriſon. — GRANTED, in the firſt article.

'XI. All the ſavages, of whatſoever nation they be, who are 'found in the garriſon, ſhall be protected from inſult, and be al- 'lowed to go where they pleaſe. — GRANTED; but it will be ad- 'viſable for them to depart as privately as poſſible.

'XII. Theſe articles being accepted, the General of his Britan- 'nic Majeſty's forces ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of a gate of the fort; 'but this cannot be done until to-morrow. — GRANTED; to- 'morrow at ſeven o'clock in the morning.'

The importance of this conqueſt is immenſe, and reflects the higheſt honour on the Commander in Chief, who, ſenſible of its vaſt conſequence, wiſely planned this expedition; and the execut- ing Officers, with their troops, juſtly claim a large ſhare of merit, for ſo gallantly and effectually ſeconding his Excellency's views and intentions. Niagara is ſituated in the heart of the Iroquois country, ſurrounded by all the great lakes; particularly by Ontario on the north, Erie on the ſouth, by Huron and others on the north and north-weſt ſides, and by the Apalachian mountains, running ſer- pentine through the Carolina's, part of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, terminating abruptly in the heart of this country on

the

the ſouth-eaſt; it has the whole continent open to it on the weſt, and our colonies on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt: this poſt and that of Crown Point were the paſſes by which the French and Canadians had acceſs to, and invaded, our ſettlements, exerciſed the moſt wanton barbarities on our people, and, in a great meaſure, engroſſed the whole fur trade to themſelves, thereby gaining the confidence and friendſhip of numbers of Indian tribes and their confederates, our allies, who inhabit the borders of theſe lakes, for ſeveral hundreds of miles. The fort of Niagara was erected by the French, ſo late as the year 1751; and it was by them looked upon as the key to all theſe inland ſeas which communicate with each other, and afford a navigation that extends almoſt over the whole continent of North-America; the country immediately about this place is mountainous and barren; but, at ſome diſtance on the borders of Ontario and lake Erie, the ſoil is rich and good, producing vegetables, Indian corn, and other grain in great perfection and abundance. To conclude, our colonies ſettled on the ſea-coaſt, being ſurrounded by almoſt impaſſable mountains, were hitherto precluded, by the French being poſſeſſed of Niagara, from the lakes, our communication with the numerous natives reſiding on their banks, and from the profitable fur trade carried on in thoſe parts. Thus far I have been inabled, by my converſe with ſome intelligent Americans, to preſent the reader with a ſuccinct account of this valuable acquiſition, and have only to regret that I have it not in my power to gratify him with an authentic deſcription of that ſtupendous phænomenon of nature, in the vicinity thereof, *The Fall of Niagara* *.

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At Brigadier Gage's departure, to take the command of the army under Sir William Johnſon, he received orders, as ſoon as Niagara ſhould be reduced, to proceed, with the principal of thoſe forces, by lake Ontario up the river Cataraqui, and poſſeſs himſelf of a very

* Called by the ſavages Ochniagara, or Oghniogorah, and, by our abbreviation, Niagara.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) Auguſt. important poſt which the enemy have got on the weſt ſide of it, called La Gallette; and the General, perceiving the vaſt advantage that would reſult from our ſecuring that place, whereby we ſhould become intire maſters of the lake before-mentioned, and our ſettlers on the Mohawk river would benefit conſiderably, as they would be no longer apprehenſive of the barbarous incurſions of the enemy, was pleaſed this day to inforce theſe orders, in a letter ſent by Major Chriſtie, appointed Quarter-Maſter-General in that enterpriſe.

14th. Captain Loring being left at Ticonderoga to build a brigantine, the main of our army have been employed here, ſince the 5th, in erecting the new fort, fortifying our camp, and preparing, with all expedition, to paſs lake Champlain.

16th. By deſerters, who came in to-day, we received intelligence of the enemy being retired to the lower end of the lake, and incamped on l'Iſle au Noix; that they conſiſt of eight battalions of regulars, ſome detachments, or piquets, from other corps, colony troops and Canadians, amounting to three thouſand five hundred men, with an hundred pieces of cannon; that they have four armed veſſels under the direction of ſeveral ſea Officers from the royal navy of France, with reſerves from the regiments of Languedoc, Bearn, and La Sarre on board; one of theſe veſſels carries ten guns, ſix and four-pounders; the ſecond, two braſs twelves, and ſix iron ſix-pounders; the third, eight guns, ſix and four-pounders; and the fourth, of the ſame number and weight; beſides ſwivels almoſt innumerable throughout this little ſquadron.

17th. Captain Loring arrived this day, in conſequence of a ſummons; and, being informed of the naval force of the enemy, he is of opinion the brigantine he is conſtructing will ſtill be inſufficient, and therefore determined upon building a radeau to carry ſix twenty-four-pounders, in ſuch manner as to render them ſerviceable on the water, beſides barely tranſporting them over the lake.

Sept. 1ſt. We received farther intelligence, that the enemy are endeavouring to have a ſuperior naval force, and, for this purpoſe, have actually

tually launched a new veſſel pierced for ſixteen guns, whereupon the Commodore was again ſent for; the General, being reſolved not to leave any thing to mere chance, has agreed upon building a ſecond veſſel, if it may be done without retarding the radeau. 1759. (Sept.) 30th.) Sept.

Captain Loring returned this day to Crown Point, and concluded with his Excellency upon building a ſloop to carry ſixteen guns; this cauſes a great delay in our operations, to the unſpeakable mortification of the General and the army; but ſtill it is unavoidable. The repairs of the forts at Ticonderoga are in great forwardneſs; and the new fortreſs we are conſtructing here has all the advantages of ſituation and ſtrength of ground that can be deſired. 3d.

An expreſs arrived this day from Brigadier Gage, with a letter to the General, of the 11th inſtant; wherein he acquaints him, that, from the various difficulties that preſent themſelves, he finds it will be utterly impracticable to eſtabliſh a poſt at La Gallette before the winter; this is no ſmall diſappointment to his Excellency, as he has, for ſome time, been very intent upon that important object, and is now under the neceſſity of reſigning all thoughts of it for this campaign, the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, or at leaſt will be, before his farther commands can reach the Brigadier. 19th.

We are uſing the utmoſt diligence in augmenting our naval force, and this day the new radeau was launched; ſhe is eighty-four feet in length by twenty. 29th.

The Brigantine arrived this day from Ticonderoga, and mounts ſix ſix-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty ſwivels; ſhe has ſeventy ſeamen on board, beſides a detachment from the troops of ſixty men, with Officers in proportion, to ſerve as marines. October 10th.

The new ſloop of ſixteen guns came down to-day, commanded by Lieutenant Grant of Montgomery's Highlanders; her weight of metal conſiſts of four ſix-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty-two ſwivels, with ſixty ſeamen and fifty ſoldiers. The army immediately got into their batteaus; the ſloop and brigantine ſailed about 11th.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) October. about four in the afternoon, and the troops followed in four diviſions; at night, a light was hoiſted for their guidance on board the brigantine, and another, on board the radeau.

12th. Some guns were heard early this morning, and a meſſage was ſent to the General, acquainting him, that our veſſels with thoſe of the enemy were come to an action; but this proved a miſtake, and proceeded from ſome batteaus of the forty-ſecond regiment, under Major Reid, having followed the light of the brigantine, which, in the night, he took for the radeau, and thereby fell in with the enemy's ſloops, who fired ſeveral guns at them; but they all fortunately made their eſcape, except one batteau with a Lieutenant and twenty men, which were made priſoners. Some time after, we perceived the enemy's ſloops crowding ſail; towards the evening we had very rough, blowing weather; the batteaus were ordered into a commodious bay on the weſtern ſhore for ſhelter; the troops were landed for exerciſe, after ſuch long ſitting, and to boil their kettles, covered by Gage's light infantry, who were advanced for that purpoſe; and the rangers were put a-ſhore on a contiguous iſland.

13th. It blows a ſtorm, with the wind right a-head, which retards our proceedings; two whale-boats are however detached to Captain Loring.

14th. The General received diſpatches from the Commodore and Captain James Abercrombie, one of his Exellency's Aids de Camp, and an expert Officer, whom he had ordered on board, acquainting him, that 'at day-light, on the morning of the 12th, when they computed 'they were about forty-five miles down the lake, they ſaw the 'ſchooner; and, in giving her chace, they unluckily ran the briganetine and ſloop a-ground, but got them off again; and, ſpying three 'ſloops of the enemy which they had paſſed in the night, between 'them and the army, they inſtantly ſtood for them, to endeavour 'to bring them to action; that they drove them into a bay on 'the weſtern ſhore, and came to an anchor off the entrance, in 'ſuch a manner as to prevent their eſcape; that, on the day fol-

'lowing,

'lowing, they ſent two whale-boats farther into the bay, in ſearch 1759.
'of them, who diſcovered, that the crews had abandoned them, (Sept. 30th.)
'after ſinking two of the veſſels in five fathom water, and the October.
'third they ran a-ground; that the Commodore had ordered Lieu-
'tenant Grant, with his ſloop, to try to ſave the ſtranded veſſel,
'with her guns, ſtores, and rigging; while he propoſed to go to
'his ſtation, hoping to get between their ſchooner and l'Iſle au
'Noix.' The men who brought theſe letters ſay, that Captain Loring is not above thirty miles off, and that it is impracticable for a boat to get back, while this high wind continues.

The ſame perverſe wind, with an angry agitated ſea, which 17th.
renders the lake impaſſable for boats, and has obliged us to remain here ſince the 12th; it froze hard laſt night. The two whale-boats, that were ſent expreſs to Captain Loring on the 13th, returned this evening, being forced back, after the crews had, in vain, exerted all the efforts in their power to get down the lake; they ſay the waves ran ſo high, that they were under the greateſt apprehenſions of being loſt.

The weather being more moderate, and the wind having veered 18th.
to the ſouthward, we proceeded on our voyage, as low down as the bay, where the French ſloops are; one of them has been ſo far repaired, that ſhe ſailed immediately, with the brigantine and our own ſloop; two hundred men are detached in whale-boats to aſſiſt Captain Loring in his reſearches for the enemy's ſchooner.

Rough weather, and a perverſe northerly wind to-day: the 19th.
General, foreſeeing, by an appearance of winter ſetting in, that the ſeaſon will be too far advanced, by the time he can reach l'Iſle au Noix, to rout the enemy thence, and make any farther progreſs in the campaign, with ſafety to the army, has reſolved to loſe no farther time on the lake, but to return to Crown Point, and complete the works, as faſt as poſſible, before the troops are diſtributed into quarters for the winter. Accordingly, his Excellency having intimated his intentions, and given the neceſſary orders;

1759. (Sept. 30th.) orders; we returned to the bay, where we were ſo many days unluckily wind-bound.

October 20th. The army proceeded up the lake, and got within four leagues of Crown Point, whither the light infantry and grenadiers are detached in whale-boats; as the radeau and boats that are heavily laden cannot make ſuch diſpatch, they are to continue this night with the reſt of the troops, under the particular care of the rangers.

21ſt. The General, with the remainder of the forces, happily arrived at Crown Point, where I ſhall juſt leave them, to contemplate the tranſactions of another quarter. When his Excellency concerted the reduction of Niagara, he alſo formed a plan to cooperate therewith, by detaching Brigadier-General Stanwix to the weſtward, as well to ſecure our conqueſts on that ſide, and overawe the numerous tribes of barbarians inhabiting that vaſt country between the delightful river Ohio and lake Erie, as to cut out work for the enemy, in that diſtrict, by attacking their chain of forts, viz. Venango, to the northward of Pittſburgh, and about half-way to Preſqu' Iſle; another fortreſs his Excellency had in view, together with Pont Chartrain, a fort eſtabliſhed under the direction of a French Officer of that name, at a ſtreight of a river which communicates with the lakes Erie and Huron, commonly called Detroit, * thereby to command the intire navigation of the former of theſe waters, and either prevent the enemy from ſending reinforcements thence to Niagara, or, in caſe of an attempt of that kind, to deprive them of thoſe important poſts on that lake. For theſe ſeveral purpoſes it was, that Brigadier Stanwix was detached with a battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Colonel Bouquet; another of Virginians, three battalions of Pennſylvanians, commanded reſpectively by Colonels Byrd, Armſtrong, Mercer, and James Burd, or Byrd, with three companies of Delawares under Captain Battel; amounting, in all, to about four thouſand men.

* Situated N. N. W. of Preſqu' Iſle and N. of Erie. (See the map.)

It has already appeared, that a corps of the enemy, as was ſuſpected, not leſs than twelve hundred, beſides Indians, collected from the different forts above-mentioned, were drawn off towards Niagara by Meſſieurs Aubry and de Lignery, with a view to ſurpriſe the forces lately under Brigadier Prideaux, and thereby compel them to raiſe the ſiege: in conſequence of which procedure, we find, by diſpatches received ſome time after our arrival *here* *, that Mr. Stanwix has poſſeſſed himſelf of Venango and Preſqu' Iſle without much trouble, put thoſe places into an excellent poſture of defence, and garriſoned them; he has alſo completed the works of Pittſburgh and Fort Ligonier, together with our other poſts on the frontiers of Pennſylvania; and cloſed his expedition by taking the ſubmiſſion of various tribes of Indians, with whom he has renewed treaties of alliance; Detroit, however, ſtill remains to the enemy, whoſe garriſon are ſo infeebled, and, in other reſpects, miſerably circumſtanced, being deſtitute of every kind of ſuccour or relief from Canada, that it is no longer in their power to give us the leaſt diſturbance: Thus has the Commander in Chief the extreme ſatisfaction to behold the glorious effects of his incomparable meaſures. 1759. (Sept. 30th.) October.

It is certainly a moſt agreeable contraſt to draw a compariſon between the ſituation of our affairs in this boundleſs territory, at the concluſion of this memorable campaign, with the ſtate in which they ſtood at the commencement of the year 1757. Upon the return of the army to Crown-Point, we found the new fortreſs in ſuch forwardneſs as to be almoſt finiſhed; whereupon the General gave immediate orders for conſtructing three additional forts, without loſs of time, for the grenadiers, and two corps of light infantry, the better to ſtrengthen this important poſt, and protect the country to the ſouthward of it, now farther ſecured by the completion of the works at Ticonderoga. The abilities diſplayed by his Excellency, in the whole progreſs of this year's very difficult 26th.

* At Crown-Point.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) October. and ſevere ſervice, muſt be univerſally admitted to exceed all imagination; the obſtacles he had to encounter, in a country ſo different from all others, are not to be enumerated; the precautions taken to ſecure the army, as we advanced, with our chain of detached poſts, from inſult or ſurpriſe; the expedition uſed in conſtructing ſeveral veſſels to render us ſuperior to the naval force of the enemy on the lakes; the judicious manner in which the troops were embarked, and our order of rowing, or ſailing, was directed; the provident regulations that were made, whereby the army never wanted proviſions or refreſhments; the unwearied pains taken to train up the raw provincial troops, with the exact diſcipline ſupported throughout, and the conſtant attention paid to preſerve the health of the men; the admirable diligence, ſpirit, and patience exerted in dragging artillery, rafts, boats, and other craft over the carrying-places; and, finally, the General's purſuing our advantages no farther than is conſiſtent with the utmoſt good policy;—theſe, together with the ſteadineſs and precaution diſplayed in conducting the different operations of the campaign, and the effectual manner in which he now employs the remainder of it, in ſecuring our conqueſts, are all ſuch eminent excellencies, in the art of war, as muſt excite the aſtoniſhment and admiration of all mankind.

I muſt now return to our famous garriſon of Quebec, of which I ſhall preſent the reader with a deſcription, at the time of its ſurrender; and then proceed with the occurrences of a very ſevere winter campaign.

October 1ſt. The city of Quebec * conſiſts of two towns, diſtinguiſhed by the high and low town: they are ſeparated from each other by

* Said to be derived from *keh-beis*, which is an old Algonquin Indian expreſſion, and implies, — 'What is ſtreight.' This is the etymology given by French and other hiſtorians, who advance that the Aborigines firſt expreſſed themſelves to that effect, with admiration, upon their diſcovering the ſtreight formed in that part by Cape Diamond, and ſome eminences jutting into the river from the ſouth ſhore.

a ſteep

a ſteep cliff of rock, which is a natural fortification to near two thirds of the upper town, at the ſame time that it ſerves as a ſhelter to the low town from the keen, penetrating, north-weſt winds; the buildings were, in general, very good, until deſtroyed by our artillery, during the ſiege; and conſiſted, beſides dwelling-houſes, of a number of churches, colleges, convents, and other public edifices, which, in the city as well as the country throughout, are built of a durable kind of greyiſh ſtone, whereof they have great plenty in this province. There is a large parcel of vacant ground within the walls of the upper town, which, however, does not furniſh them with many gardens, the land being ſo barren and rocky as not to bear cultivation; and the few that they have within the city, being naturally of a ſhallow ſoil, are indebted to borrowed mold from other places. The ſtreets of the high town are broad but uneven, running upon a declivity from the ſouth, where they are higheſt, to the north. Thoſe of the low town are narrow, ſtanding on a confined ſpot of ground, which was formerly overflowed by the tide to the foot of the precipice, and, by the retiring of the waters, pointed out a place, at the head of a ſpacious and moſt delightful baſon, commodious, in all reſpects, for merchants to build and inhabit, for the convenience of *trade* *. Their principal public buildings were the cathedral, of which only the walls remain: the biſhop's palace, the colleges of the Jeſuits and Recollects, the convents of the Urſulines and Hôtel de Dieu, with their churches, a ſeminary for the education of youth, almoſt beat to pieces, with a neat chapel adjoining; a ſtately, but unfiniſhed, houſe for the Knights-Hoſpitallers, the Intendant's magnificent palace in the ſuburbs of St. Roque, and the church of Madame la Victoire, in the low town, of which the walls only are *ſtanding* †.

1759. October.

* The tide riſes here eighteen feet and a half.

† In the year 1690, we ſent an army to beſiege Quebec, under the command of Sir William Phipps, who, after waſting time, and loſing many men and ſome ſhips, was obliged to retire; the church of La Victoire was built to commemorate the raiſing of this ſiege.

1759. October. I am credibly informed they had a fine painting in that church, repreſenting a town in flames, with an inſcription ſetting forth, that, in the year 1711, when this capital was threatened with a ſiege by Walker and Hill, one of their pious women, pretending to be inſpired, prognoſticated, 'that this church and lower town 'would be deſtroyed by the Britiſh, perhaps heretics, in a con-'flagration, before the year of our Lord 1760.' Which made ſo great an impreſſion on all ranks of people, that they dedicated two days, every year, to faſting and worſhip, and implored the interceſſion of their patroneſs with the Almighty, to protect that church and city from fire and ſword, &c. In the corner-houſes of the ſtreets are niches in the walls, with ſtatues as large as the life of St. Joſeph, St. Urſula, St. Auguſtine, St. Dennis, and many others; with the like figures in the fronts of their churches and other religious houſes, which have an agreeable effect to the eyes of paſſengers. The caſtle, or citadel, and reſidence of the late Governor-General, fronting the Recollects' college and church, and ſituated on the grand parade, which is a ſpacious place ſurrounded with fair buildings, is curiouſly erected on the top of a precipice, ſouth of the epiſcopal houſe, and overlooks the low town and baſon: whence you have a moſt extenſive and delightful proſpect of the river downwards, and the country on both ſides, for a very conſiderable diſtance. This palace, called Fort St. Louis, was the rendezvous of the grand council of the colony. There is, beſides, another citadel on the ſummit of the eminence of Cape Diamond, with a few guns mounted in it; but, excepting its commanding view of the circumjacent country for a great extent, and of the upper as well as lower river for many leagues, it is otherwiſe mean and contemptible. Moſt of the other public buildings carry a ſtriking appearance, particularly the Jeſuits' college, Urſuline and Hôtel de Dieu convents with their churches; the Biſhop's palace and chapel of eaſe adjoining

joining, and, above all, the ſuperb palace of the late French Intendant, with its out-offices and ſpacious area, would be ornaments to any city in Europe: but the reſidence of the Biſhop, by its ſituation on the top of the precipice between the high and lown town, ſuffered very conſiderably from our batteries, as did that of the Governor-General before-mentioned, which are both built of brick, they being conſpicuouſly expoſed to our view from the ſouth ſide of the river. 1759. October.

On the right of the deſcent, leading to the low town, ſtands a ſtately old houſe, ſaid to be the firſt built of ſtone in this city; and, over the front door of it, is engraved a dog gnawing a large fleſhy bone, which he has got under and between his fore-feet, with the following whimſical inſcription:

Je ſuis le chien qui ronge l'os,
Sans en perdre un ſeul morceau:
Le temp viendra, qui n'eſt pas venu,
Je mordrai celui, m'aura mordû.

The true meaning of this device I never could learn, though I made all poſſible inquiries, without being gratified with the leaſt information reſpecting its alluſion. I have been informed, that the firſt proprietor of the houſe had been a man of great natural abilities, and poſſeſſed a plentiful fortune, which he, after many diſappointments and loſſes in trade, had ſcraped together, by means of the moſt indefatigable induſtry. Now whether the foregoing device had any reference to theſe particulars of his own private affairs; or that we may rather ſuppoſe the bone with fleſh on it to reſemble Canada, and the dog, an emblem of fidelity, to repreſent the French ſettled there, as if determined faithfully to defend that colony for their King and country, againſt the ſavage natives, who may perhaps be alluded to by the two laſt lines of the inſcription:

1759. October. ſcription: I will not take upon me to determine, but ſubmit it to the more penetrating capacity of the curious reader.

The cuſtom-houſe is alſo in the low town, where the Collector is ſplendidly lodged; and this is almoſt the only houſe in that quarter, which by its particualar ſituation, eſcaped the flames and ravages made by our mercileſs meſſengers of deſtruction in the ſiege.

The principal ſtrength of Quebec conſiſts in its eminent ſituation: ſhip-guns cannot have ſufficient elevation to do it any conſiderable damage, and it is too hazardous an undertaking for bomb-ketches to attempt to deſtroy it, becauſe they, or any other floats that may be oppoſed to it, would lie almoſt at the mercy of a furious fire from the ſeveral batteries erected one above another, down to the level of the water; and any ſhips brought againſt it muſt run up with the flood, ſtand off and on until the tide of ebb, and then retire; it was for theſe, and other obvious reaſons, that the immortal Wolfe wiſely poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſouth ſide of the river at Point Levi, whence only he could have communicated with the heights oppoſite to the garriſon, where he raiſed his batteries with ſo much ſucceſs.

The communications between the low and high town, from their prodigious natural ſteepneſs, are difficult at all times to be aſcended, and were reſpectively defended, when the place ſurrendered, by traverſes, batteries, and flank fires, thrown up everywhere, that ſcoured all thoſe paſſages, ſo as to render them intirely inacceſſible, in caſe a deſcent had been made below: if the General had executed that plan, we ſhould certainly have been cut to pieces; for, in that caſe, the enemy would have thrown in ſome thouſands of muſketry from their camp, and lined all the defences above, inſomuch that I think it would have been impracticable for a ſingle man to have eſcaped unhurt; and it is to be obſerved, that our batteries muſt have remained totally ſilent,

in an undertaking of this kind; it was for these reasons that Major M'Kellar diverted the General from making the experiment. I would not be understood to derogate from his Excellency's merit, by his entertaining thoughts of putting so arduous and desperate an enterprise into execution; it was natural in the Commander of the expedition, and quite uniform with his inherent intrepidity; but he was unacquainted with the interior parts of the city, and therefore displayed his equally innate wisdom in submitting to the opinion of the Engineer, who was no stranger to the insurmountable difficulties I have pointed out. Besides the occasional flanks fires before-mentioned, to scour the avenues throughout the city, its defences consisted of twelve batteries, designed for an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, but did not mount more than one hundred and six, whereof some were of small account; the greatest number of them, particularly that called *Le Clergè en Barbette*, pointed to the bason and the south shore, to defend the anchoring-ground and the channel to the upper river: these were mostly thirty-six pounders; the rest, except a few of eighteens, were composed of twelves, and from that downward to fours and three-pounders; — besides several mortars of different calibres, bedded in various places for the annoyance of shipping. The ramparts, or line of fortification to the country side, consists of an intire wall of masonry of a modern construction, and seems to be part of a design intended to be cannon-proof; there are no batteries on it, except a few flank fires about the ports of St. Louis, St. Jean, Palais, and one or two other places; this line of stone-work extends, from the S. S. W. corner behind the citadel of Cape Diamond, to the north corner near the lower road leading from the country to St. Rocque, where, by the assistance of nature, it forms a strong angle, and runs away in a long curtain eastward, excluding that whole suburb, to Port Palais, and a little beyond it: whence it terminates to the low town with the dicing slope of the rock, and with no other defence than a regular piquet-work on its summit, with loop-holes for musketry.

1759. October.

and

1759. October. and two worm-eaten nine-pounders, pointed to the ſtrand, at the entrance of the little river; at the eaſt end of the upper town is a wall of maſonry, which joins to the piquet work before-mentioned on the north-eaſt, and runs ſouth, ſeemingly intended to cover a ſteep bye-way leading to the ſally-port from the lower town, and may be effectually protected by muſketry, as it is of a good height, with a foot-bank, ſupported by ſcaffolding, which gives ſmall arms a great command over that quarter, the men being well covered *above* *. On the flank oppoſite to the ſouth ſhore, from the ſouth-weſt angle, all round Cape Diamond, is another ſtockade work, running with great ſymmetry down to the dock-yard in the low town, with loop-holes for muſketry. But this ſeems to me to be the moſt aſſailable part of the whole. There is no ditch round the town, nor any kind of outworks; and, though it would be an undertaking of immenſe labour and great expence, I think it very practicable to ſurround the town, on the land-ſide, by a moat communicating with the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, which, together with natural ſprings in the rocks, would keep it for ever ſufficiently ſupplied with water, and would render that part of the town impenetrable. Perhaps ſome may think I talk of impoſſibilities; but, when we take a view of the ſtupendous works of this nature carried on in other countries, even through rocks, of much greater depth and extent, they may, with me, be confirmed in the veracity of the old adage, *Nihil mortalibus arduum eſt.*

The line of maſonry, encompaſſing the city on the weſt, is reveſted, on the inſide, with a great body of earth, in which are two ſpacious vaults with ſally-ports communicating to the country; whether

* In an adjoining houſe was quartered the grenadier company of Otway's regiment, with a reſerve of a ſpare apartment for a Subaltern's guard, which always mounted there, in my time; whence this place was called the ſally-port at Otway's grenadier guard. I know no other name for it.

theſe

theſe are deſigned for caſemates, and are rendered bomb-proof, I cannot take upon me to advance; at preſent they ſerve as ſtore-houſes, for the reception of wheelbarrows, pickaxes, and other intrenching tools. At ſome diſtance within the line, are a chain of citadels or redoubts of maſonry, extending from Cape Diamond down to the hangman's redoubt, which is near the ſtrong angle, before deſcribed, weſtward of the palace-gate; I have been informed, that theſe were the ancient limits of the city, and that they had a common garden wall between each of theſe bulwarks, for the defence of the inhabitants againſt the incurſions of the Indians; but this part of the garriſon, by all that I can learn, has undergone many revolutions, ſince the year 1711, when it was menaced with a ſiege by Sir Hoveden Walker and Colonel Hill, as has been already obſerved. The ground to the north-weſt of Cape Diamond, within the walls, is high and commanding, and an excellent ſpot whereon to erect cavaliers or grand batteries, which would top the works of the place conſiderably, range the adjacent country for a vaſt extent, and even the upper river as far as Sillery, where it would be almoſt impoſſible for ſhips to ride in any kind of ſafety; upon the whole, it is in the power of art to render Quebec as impregnable to the land-ſide, as it is naturally, by its ſingular inacceſſible ſituation, to the river; and it might then, with a garriſon of ten thouſand men at leaſt, be deſervedly ſtyled the *Bergen op Zome* of the new world. — The general hoſpital ſtands near a mile from the town on the W. N. W. ſide of it, and is a very ſtately building: it is ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the river Charles, which meanders agreeably under its walls, and conſiſts of a ſpacious dome, looking to the eaſt, with two great wings, one fronting the north, and the other the ſouth;—in this houſe is a convent of nuns of the Auguſtine order, who have lands particularly appropriated for their maintenance; and the ſiſters, from religious motives, have aſſigned the principal parts of this habitation for the reception of ſick and wounded Officers and ſoldiers, to whom they are exceedingly humane

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1759. October. mane and tender; the French King has hitherto endowed this hoſpital with a bounteous ſalary for the ſupport of a Phyſician, Surgeons, Directors, Clerks, Stewards, Inſpector, &c. for whom there is a very decent table, as likewiſe for ſuch Officers of the troops as happened to labour under any infirmity. Theſe women are ſubject to the direction of a Mother-Abbeſs, who is ſiſter to M. de Ramſay, the late Governor; and, according to their monaſtic cuſtom, aſſumes the name of 'Sainte Claude.' Every ſoldier pays a weekly ſtipend, while he is here, beſides his allowance of ſalt proviſions; and then he is not at any farther expence. They eat and drink well of ſuch things only as are fit for them, in the ſoop and ſpoon-meat way; whatever beverage the Surgeons think proper to direct is provided for them, and no men can lie more clean or comfortable than they do. Our ſoldiers were taken equally as good care of; for the nuns make it a point of conſcience, and perform every menial office about the ſick as unconcerned, and with the ſame indifference, that one man would attend another; when our poor fellows were ill, and ordered to be removed from their own odious regimental hoſpitals to this general receptacle, they were indeed rendered inexpreſſibly happy; each patient has his bed with curtains allotted to him, and a nurſe to attend him; ſometimes ſhe will take two, three, or more, under her care, according to the number of ſick or wounded in the houſe. The beds are ranged in galleries on each ſide, with a ſufficient ſpace, between each, for a perſon to paſs through; theſe galleries are ſcraped and ſwept every morning, and afterwards ſprinkled with vinegar, ſo that a ſtranger is not ſenſible of any unſavoury ſcent whatſoever; in ſummer, the windows are generally open, and the patients are allowed a kind of fan, either to cool them in cloſe ſultry weather, or to keep off the flies, which, at that ſeaſon, by reaſon of the vicinity of ſome marſhes, together with the river Charles, are numerous and troubleſome. Every Officer has an apartment to himſelf, and is attended by one of thoſe religious ſiſters, who, in general, are young, handſome, and fair; courteous, rigidly reſerved,

reſerved, and very reſpectful; their dreſs conſiſts of a black, ſometimes a white, gown, with a bib and apron, a cloſe cap on their head, with a forehead-cloth down to their brows; their breaſts and neck intirely covered; the ſleeves are made long, ſo that not above half the arm from the elbow is in ſight: their cloaths ſweep the ground; on the top of the head is pinned a ſquare piece of black ſhalloon, which ſerves as a cloak, flowing careleſſly over their ſhoulders, a little below their waiſt. Every woman wears a ſilver crucifix, about three inches in length, which hangs by a black ribband from the neck to the girdle or apron-ſtring; and, in this dreſs, they make a very decent, grave, and modeſt appearance: they are not under the ſame reſtraint as in other Popiſh countries; their office of nurſing the ſick furniſhes them with opportunities of taking great latitudes, if they are ſo diſpoſed; but I never heard any of them charged with the leaſt levity. In the ſouth wing of this edifice is a ſuperb church, and, in the other, a very neat chapel; in both of them are ſeveral images and Scripture-paintings as large as the life: that of St. Peter, in an attitude of contrition for having denied his Maſter, is the beſt of them, and is truly expreſſive. The altar of the church is moſt ſumptuouſly gilded, with a tolerable painting behind it, barely in view. Over it is a large clumſy repreſentation of the Almighty, carved in wood, with a long grey beard and flaxen hair, cloathed in white, and ſurrounded with angels; in his right hand is a globe, while his left points, rather ungracefully, to ſomething inviſible to the ſpectator. Their altar-cloths and hangings are of curious needle-work, the manufacture of the nuns, and wrought on ſilk, in different colours. The walls are covered with wainſcot of oak to half of their height, the pannels whereof are painted in dark ſhaded landſcapes, repreſenting the adjacent country. Upon the ſouth ſide of the chancel is a large pair of folding grated doors, before which the nuns ſit on benches, one above another, as in a theatre, when they attend at ſervice. To the weſtward of them are two confeſſing-ſeats; on each ſide of the

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1759. October. church are ſtalls and benches, with looſe forms in the area for the meaner ſort of people; over the weſt door is a very neat gallery for muſic, to which they aſcend by a flight of ſtairs, on the right and left of the entrance. On the north ſide of the church is a ſaloon, with a curious monument, and an altar over it, elegantly gilded and ornamented with ſmall figures of wax-work, perſonating the Saviour of the world, and Mary, his mother; on each ſide are two ſtatues; one to the memory of St. Auguſtine, the patron of this foundation; which is a venerable figure, cloathed in purple and white, bare-headed, with a long grey beard; in his right hand he holds a flaming heart, which ſeems to engroſs his attention; and, in his left, a ſmall book. The other commemorates Charles, called St. Charles, Archbiſhop of Milan, who made a liberal endowment to this church and hoſpital; he is repreſented as reading very attentively; he ſtands upright, with his hands a-croſs, and an open book laid on them; his ſilver hair flows down his ſhoulders, and he is clad in ſcarlet and white. In this ſaloon lie the remains of the late General Montcalm, to whoſe memory they have not yet had time to confer any honours; the monument I made mention of is that of John, the ſecond Biſhop of Canada, the principal founder of this charity, whoſe encomiaſtical epitaph may not be unacceptable to the inquiſitive reader:

« EPITAPHE de l'illuſtriſſime et reverendiſſime Pere en Dieu,
« Meſſire Jean Baptiſte de la Croix de Cheveriere de St. Vallier,
« ſecond Evêque de Québec, et Fondateur de cette Maiſon.

« Grenoble fut le lieu de ſa haute naiſſance.
« Sa pieté parut de ſa plus tendre enfance:
« Engagé dans l'egliſe, Aumonier de ſon Roi,
« Son merité brilla dans cet illuſtre emploi;
« Tandis que, par ſes mains, Louis ſe fait largeſſe,

« Ses

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' Ses mœurs aux courtiſans inſpiroient la ſageſſe ;
' Son example toucha pleurs Abbés de cour,
' Ils lui deurent vers Dieu leur ſincere retour.
' Loin d'être ambitieux des brigueurs, des vains titres,
' De France conſtamment il refuſa les mitres,
' Celles de ſa patrie avoient trop de douçeurs,
' Celle du Canada lui plût par ſes rigueurs :
' Celle mitre d'un ſaint eſt fait pour la tête,
' Qui l'aime pour l'avoir braver la tempête,
' Venir, maigrè les flots et les monſtres marins,
' La chercher au païs de noirs Americains,
' A travers cent ecueils des pointes heriſſées.
' Cette mitre s'offrit, et flatta ſes penſées ;
' Le deſir de ſouffrir la lui fit accepter,
' Il traverſa la mer pour venir la porter.
' Comme un aſtre brillant, dans la force de l'age,
' On le vit aborder dans ce païs ſauvage ;
' Il y vint ſucceſſeur de l'illuſtre Laval,
' De toutes ſes vertus il parut le rival ;
' Il imita ſa foi, ſa prudence, et ſon zèle ;
' Peut être en pluſieurs pointes paſſa-t-il ſon modele.
' Son art pour mettre l'ordre, et pour le maintenir,
' Pourra ſervir d'exemple aux Prelats à venir :
' En lui tout étoit grand, tout étoit reſpectable,
' Son port majeſtueux, et ſon front vénerable.
' Evêque dans un lieu dont il avoit fait choix,
' Il eut ſelon ſes vœux, les plus peſantes croix.
' Il fit toujours paroitre un courage invincible,
' Aux pertes d'ici bas, il étoit inſenſible ;
' Captif chez les Anglois, et cinq ans arrêté,
' Sa vertu triompha dans ſa captivité.
' Dans les plus grands perils, jamais le vi—t—on craindre ;
' Toute ſa crainte étoit la loi de Dieu d'enfraindre,

' De

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‘ De la voir violer, de manquer aux beſoins,
‘ Du troupeau que le Ciel conduiſoit par ſes ſoins.
‘ Plus que ſa propre vie, il aima ſes ouailles ;
‘ Pour toutes il avoit d'un pere les entrailles,
‘ Pour les ſanctifier il n'omit jamais rien ;
‘ Il leur diſtribua plus d'un million de bien ;
‘ La tendre charité forma ſon charactere :
‘ Du pauvre vivement il ſentoit la miſere,
‘ La ſoulagea toujours, le Ciel l'a ſecondé ;
‘ Temoins trois hôpitaux que lui ſeul a fondé ;
‘ Son cœur brulant pour Dieu des plus ardentes flammes,
‘ Il vecut, il eſt mort, en lui cherchant des ames,
‘ A la réligion lui doit tous les progrés
‘ Qu'en quarante-trois ans dans ces lieux elle a faits.
‘ Ces vierges, dont il fut le pere de plus tendre,
‘ Gardent, comme un treſor, ſa precieuſe cendre ;
‘ Cette cendre entretient les divines ardeurs
‘ Que leur ſaint fondateur alluma dans leurs cœurs.
‘ Cette cendre leur parle, et lorſque deſolée ;
‘ Leur ame de ſon deüil remplit ce mauſolée,
‘ Il gemit de penſer que leur pere n'eſt plus :
‘ Cette cendre leur dit qu'il vit dans ſes vertus ;
‘ Qu'il doit être imité ; que leur plus douce etude
‘ Doit être demontrée par leur gratitude ;
‘ Que c'eſt ce qu'il attend, pour fruits de ſes biens faits,
‘ De voir ici regner la ferveur et la paix.
‘ Ici des ſaints Prelats repoſe le modele,
‘ On admira toujours ſa rare pieté ;
‘ Par cent nobles travaux il ſignala ſon zèle ;
‘ Trois hôpitaux fondès marquent ſa charité.
‘ Son eſprit, ſes talens, ſon illuſtre naiſſance,
‘ Devoient le faire Evêque en l'ancienne France :
‘ Son Prince, qui l'aimoit, voulut l'y retenir ;

‘ Mais

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' Mais mepriſant les faſtes et les grandeurs humaines,
' Penſant combien un jour elles paroitront vaines,
' Il vint en Canada pour chercher a ſouffrir.

' Durant quarante et trois années,
' La fois dans ces vaſtes contrées.

' A fait, par ſon moyen, de merveilleux progrès ;
' Son amour, ſon reſpect, envers l'Etre Supreme,
' Pour ſon troupeau ſes ſoins et ſa tendreſſe extreme,
' Le rendront à jamais digne de nos regrèts.

' Vous vierges, qu'en mourant il fit ſes legataires,
' De ſon cœur, de ſa cendre, ici depoſitaires,
' Conſerve cherement ce precieuſe treſor ;
' S'il ne vous laiſſa pas des revenus bien amples,
' Il vous laiſſa des grands exemples,
' Qui vous ſerviront plus que l'argent et que l'or.

' Hic jacet illuſtriſſimus eccleſiæ Princeps, Johannes Baptiſta de ' la Croix de Cheveriere de St. Vallier Gratianopolitanus, genere ' nobliſſimo ortus ; primùm Ludovici XIV. ab Eleemoſynis, deinde ' ſecunduſque regenſis antiſtes : pietate, ac zelo animarum, alter ' Borromæus ; morum ſuavitate, ac regendi ratione, alter Salezius ; ' pauperum dum viveret pater mortuus inter pauperes, quibus ſe ' ſuaque omnia devoverat. Quieſcere voluit in hoc valetudinario à ' ſe ſummis curis atque impenſis conſtructo. Diem extremam ' obiit 26 Decembris, anni 1727, ætatis LXXV, epiſcopatus XLIII. ' Patri amantiſſimo ac munificentiſſimo, fundatori ſuo, hujuſce do- ' mus ſanctimonialis hoc grati animi monumentum poſuere.

' REQUIESCAT, &c.'

As I have not the happineſs to be a favourite of the Muſes, I ſhall only attempt a merely literal tranſlation of theſe poetical encomiums.

' EPITAPH

1759. October. ‘ EPITAPH of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt reverend Father in ‘ God, *Meſſire* * John Baptiſt de la Croix de Cheveriere de St. ‘ Vallier, ſecond Biſhop of Quebec, Founder of this Houſe.

‘ Grenoble was the place of his high birth.
‘ His piety was early in his infancy conſpicuous :
‘ Engaged in the church, Almoner to the King,
‘ His merit ſhone forth in that illuſtrious employ ;
‘ Whilſt, by his hands, Lewis diſtributed his bounty,
‘ His morals inſpired the courtiers with wiſdom :
‘ His example moved many Abbées of the court,
‘ To him they owed their ſincere return to God.
‘ Far from being ambitious of court-favours or titles,
‘ He conſtantly refuſed a Biſhopric in France,
‘ Whoſe mitres would ſit too light upon him,
‘ Preferring that of Canada for the ſake of its ſeverity :
‘ This mitre of a Saint was made for the head
‘ Of him, who loved to encounter difficulties,
‘ And came here, in ſpite of ſea, billows, and monſters,
‘ To acquire it in the country of ſwarthy Americans,
‘ A-croſs hundreds of ſhelves of ſharp-pointed rocks.
‘ This mitre preſented itſelf, and pleaſed his ideas ;
‘ The deſire of ſuffering made him accept it,
‘ And he croſſed the boiſterous ſeas, in order to wear it.
‘ Like a blazing ſtar, in the vigour of life,
‘ He was ſeen to land in this ſavage country ;
‘ He came here ſucceſſor to the illuſtrious Laval,
‘ Apparently the rival of all his virtues ;
‘ He imitated his faith, his prudence, and zeal,

* This is a particular title of honour among the French, and uſually applied to people of quality only.

‘ In

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' In many reſpects perhaps, he exceeded his pattern.
' His ability for placing and maintaining good order
' Will ſerve for an example to future Prelates:
' Every thing was great and reſpectable in him,
' His majeſtic air and venerable aſpect.
' Biſhop of a country he had made choice of,
' He bore, to his wiſh, the weighty burden thereof:
' He ſhewed, on all occaſions, invincible courage,
' And was inſenſible to all diſaſters on earth.
' A priſoner with the Britiſh, and five years confined,
' His virtue triumphed throughout his captivity;
' In the greateſt of dangers a ſtranger to fear;
' His ſole dread was that of infringing God's laws,
' Of ſeeing them violated, of failing in his duty,
' Towards the flock committed by God to his care.
' He loved his ſheep with the tenderneſs of a father,
' He omitted nothing for their increaſe in holineſs,
' He diſtributed among them more than a million,
' Amiable charity formed his character:
' Senſibly feeling for the miſeries of the poor,
' He always comforted them, Heaven ſeconding him;
' Witneſs the three hoſpitals he himſelf founded;
' His heart burning for God with the moſt ardent flame,
' He lived and died in converting of ſouls,
' And religion is indebted to him for the progreſs
' It made in thoſe places, theſe forty-three years.
' Thoſe virgins to whom he was the tendereſt father
' Preſerve, as a treaſure, his moſt precious aſhes;
' Theſe aſhes maintain that heavenly ardour
' Kindled in their hearts by their ſanctified founder;
' They remind them of him, when diſſolved in grief;
' His monument fills their ſouls with mourning,
' They groan to think their father is no more:

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'But these ashes tell them he lives in his virtues;
'That he ought to be imitated; and their delicious study
'Ought by their gratitude to be demonstrated;
'Because all he desired, for the fruit of his bounties,
'Was to see peace and holiness reign in this place.

'Here reposes the model of most reverend Prelates,
'Having always displayed the most consummate piety;
'By an hundred noble labours he testified his zeal;
'Three hospitals founded point out his great charity.

'His wit, talents, and illustrious birth,
'Must have made him a Bishop in old France:
'His Prince, who loved him, would there have retained him;
'But, contemning ostentation and human grandeur,
'Thoughtful how vain they would one day appear,
'He came to Canada to encounter hardships.
'For forty-three years, the faith in these countries
'Made, through his means, marvellous progress;
'His love, his respect, towards the Supreme Being,
'His care, and affection extreme, for his flock,
'Will for ever render him worthy to be regretted.

'Ye virgins, whom he made legatees, when dying,
'And depositaries of his heart and his ashes,
'Preserve tenderly that precious treasure;
'If he bequeathed you no large revenues,
'He left you great examples,
'Infinitely more valuable than silver and gold.

'Here lies the most illustrious Prelate, John Baptist de la Croix 'de St. Vallier, &c. &c. of Grenoble; born of noble blood; at first, 'Almoner to Lewis XIV, and afterwards second Bishop of Canada; 'for

'for piety and zeal of ſouls, another Borromeus *; for ſweetneſs of manners, and reaſonable government, a ſecond de Sales †; while he lived the father of the poor, he died in the arms of the poor, to whom he devoted himſelf and his all. He deſired to be repoſed in this hoſpital, founded by his great care and expence. He breathed his laſt, on the 26th of December, 1727, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and forty-third of his epiſcopate. This monument was erected by the nuns of this houſe, in grateful remembrance of their moſt beloved father and munificent founder.

'PEACE TO HIS MANES.' 1759. October.

The chapel is ſmall and extremely neat, void of all ſuperſtitious pageantry; within the chancel ſtands a table with a green cloth on it, as in the eſtabliſhed church of England; the walls are covered with boards, which, with the rails of the chancel, — ſeats, and a compact gallery for ſingers, are painted an olive colour. Here, as well as in the church, are lamps burning, both by day and night, according to the Romiſh cuſtom; but whatever may be deficient in this is amply compenſated in that of the Urſulines, within the city; where no art has been ſpared to render it, throughout, as oſtentatiouſly glittering and captivating as poſſible. This convent is dedicated to St. Urſula, their Patroneſs, whoſe deſcent the nuns have traced to Scotland; ſhe is ſaid to have been killed by the Indians in her endeavours to reform them, and to ſow the good ſeed of Chriſtianity in this country; in commemoration of this pious woman and her martyrdom, they have erected her ſtatue againſt the wall of the edifice, with an arrow (being the inſtrument by which ſhe was killed) transfixed in her breaſt. The Hôtel de Dieu is a ſpacious fair building, with an Attic ſtory; and ſeems as if intended, in proceſs of time, to be enlarged in the form of a ſquare; but,

* Called St. Charles, *quondam* Archbiſhop of Milan.

† If I am not miſtaken, St. Francis de Sales was formerly Biſhop of Geneva, and was driven out of that country by Calvin, the famous reformer.

1759. October. at preſent, it conſiſts of two wings only, making a ſaliant angle. By an inſcription, I perceived it was conſtructed, in the year 1639, at the ſole expence of Mary de Vignerot, Ducheſs of Aiguillon; of whom I ſaw a tolerable portrait, on her knees in a praying poſture: her Grace dedicated this houſe to St. Joſeph, who is alſo the Patron of Canada. I had a view of many other paintings of angels, ſaints, &c. but they are too indifferent to deſerve any notice; the ſiſters of this convent are, in general, elderly women, leſs polite and complaiſant than in the other two nunneries; which I impute to their remarkable auſterity. There is ſuch a ſameneſs in all the churches and chapels of the different religious houſes, that a farther deſcription of them will be unneceſſary; if, in the courſe of the enſuing winter, I may ſee cauſe for any obſervations reſpecting theſe recluſes; their habitations, ceremonies, amuſements, or manner of living; they ſhall be duly inſerted in the ſequel of this work. The inhabitants of this city, before it was beſieged, did not exceed ſix thouſand ſeven hundred of both ſexes, and of all ages; though I have heard it aſſerted, previous to our fleet and army ſailing up the river, that the males of Quebec, fit to bear arms, amounted to between ſeven and eight thouſand: this probably has been taken from ſome late exaggerated accounts of the French; or perhaps it was intended therein to include the fencible men within the city and diſtrict, or government of Quebec; but even this calculation muſt be erroneous; for, in the diſpoſitions agreed upon by the enemy in a council of war for the defence of their capital, we find that the brigade of Quebec, which compoſed the right of their army in camp, did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men; and the troops ordered to remain within the town, called *La milice de la ville*, were muſtered at no more than ſix hundred and fifty; to which if we add three hundred ſtudents who were in arms, and as many merchants and other volunteers, who were actually reſidents of the place, we can perceive that theſe, ſummed up together,

ther, fall greatly ſhort of the numbers boaſted of by French travellers and writers. It is true, there has been an immenſe increaſe of inhabitants, throughout the colony, within theſe forty years paſt, if we may credit what we have been told by the Clergy upon the ſpot; one of theſe reverend fathers aſſured me, that, when our army landed on the iſland of Orleans, their whole force, in and about the garriſon, amounted to twenty-two thouſand men, though ſome of them afterwards, who were not actually muſtered, were allowed to depart, for the defence of their reſpective pariſhes. To all theſe, if we could ſubjoin the number of Canadians who were actually employed this year at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and the defences of the other numerous fortreſſes throughout, what the French would impoſe upon us to be, the extent of this great colony; and compare them with the ſtate of the country in the year 1714, and afterwards in 1747, as delivered to us by the hiſtorians of thoſe times; we ſhall find the French inhabitants of Canada amazingly multiplied, notwithſtanding their loſſes from time to time (not by ſickneſs, for it is a remarkable healthy climate, but) by the accidents of war, to which they have been expoſed for many campaigns paſt. Father Charlevoix tells us, 'That Monſieur Vaudreuil, late Governor-General of Canada (and father, or uncle, to the preſent Governor) acquainted the French Miniſtry, in the year 1714, that this colony had actually no more than four thouſand four hundred and eighty ſencible men, independent of the twenty-eight companies of the King's troops (regulars, amounting to ſix hundred and twenty-eight men) which, he added, are diſperſed in the extent of an hundred leagues;' and Doctor Douglaſs, late of Boſton, in his American Hiſtory, ſets forth, 'That, in 1747, all their militia, or fighting men, who were capable of marching and fatigue, did not exceed twelve thouſand, excluſive of regulars and Indians; the latter are computed at one thouſand;' who, I am credibly informed, have been ſince much decreaſed. I perceive I have been inſenſibly led, from a calculation of the ſencible men who were inhatants

1759. October.

1759. October. tants of Quebec only, to the numbers throughout this extenſive province of Canada, which, though I had intended to have reſerved them for another opportunity, may as well, while I am treating upon that ſubject, be ſpecified here; and I have been aſſured by one of the fathers of the Recollects, that, independent of the forces from old France, and ſeveral ſmall tribes of ſavages, the Canadians bearing arms in different places, at the commencement of this campaign, amounted to twenty-ſeven thouſand men, from the age of ſixteen to ſixty. — But it is now time to reſume the diurnal operations of our victorious troops ſtationed within the capital.

2d. Yeſterday evening a reinforcement was ſent to the general hoſpital, occaſioned by Monſieur de Bougainville's expreſſing ſome uneaſineſs at the reſtraint he is under there. Agreeable weather theſe two days. The loſs of our forces, this campaign, by ſickneſs, ſhot, &c. is computed at fifteen hundred and ſixty; that of the enemy at two thouſand five hundred and fifty. A veſſel is arrived here from Boſton with liquors and ſome proviſions. General Monckton fills up all vacant commiſſions. The inhabitants are ordered to be diſarmed, and their houſes to be ſearched, leſt any fire-arms, ammunition, ſwords, or cutlaſſes, ſhould be ſecreted; on this occaſion, I ſhall recite a circumſtance thought to be a little extraordinary: Lieutenant-Colonel John Young *, of the Royal Americans, having, when made a priſoner, in Auguſt 1757, at fort William-Henry, been ſhamefully ſtripped and plundered among the reſt of his fellow-ſufferers, loſt, with ſeveral other things, a pair of ſilver-mounted, ſcrew-barrelled piſtols: Monſieur Belcombe, a very agreeable French Officer, was particularly polite to the Colonel, in his captivity; this gentleman

* This gentleman is now no more: in juſtice, therefore, to his character, I ſhall only obſerve, that he was a man of great merit, an incomparable Officer, of ſound judgment, long experience, and was univerſally eſteemed. He was, with great propriety, appointed to act as Judge of the Police, in which he acquitted himſelf with honour, to the general ſatisfaction of the Britiſh traders ſettled here and the French inhabitants.

is

is now, in his turn, a priſoner to us, and thereby had an opportunity of renewing his acquaintance with Mr. Young. Yeſterday he took a merchant of his own nation, and his intimate friend, to wait upon the Colonel, and to requeſt a favour, which the other chearfully promiſed to grant, if in his power: thereupon the Officer produced a pair of piſtols, now the property of the merchant; and intreated he would take them into his poſſeſſion in truſt for this citizen, until the fate of Quebec ſhould be determined by a peace, leſt, upon a general ſearch being made for arms, the piſtols ſhould be taken from him, eſpecially being of Engliſh workmanſhip. The Colonel, no doubt, agreeably ſurpriſed to meet with his old companions, of whom he had been maſter above twenty years, interrogated the Frenchman, how and where he obtained them, and how long he had been poſſeſſed of them? To theſe queſtions he at firſt received evaſive replies, till acquainting Monſieur Belcombe and his friend, that they were formerly his property, taken from him by the Indians, as before mentioned; producing, at the ſame time, a ſeal, ſome ſpoons, and other articles in plate, all equally alike engraved with the Colonel's own creſt; and comparing them with the piſtols; put it beyond a doubt. At length the merchant politely reſtored them, upon Colonel Young's paying him five Louis d'ors, the ſum for which he affirmed he bought them from an Indian Sachem, ſome time after the demolition of fort William-Henry. A Canadian gave information to-day, that, being lately in company with two ſailors belonging to the French fleet, he heard them boaſt of their intention to repaſs the town with their ſhips, and ſlip through our fleet, in like manner as they ſaid they had done at Louiſbourg; whereupon notice was immediately ſent to the Admiral, and the fellow was paid a ſuitable reward for this inſtance of his attachment to us. Monſieur Bougainville received orders, this evening, to depart the general hoſpital to-morrow, and return to his colours. The troops are employed in removing proviſions and other ſtores, making faſcines, 1759. October.

incloſing

1759. October. incloſing the ſuburbs of St. Rocque, building centry-boxes, with booths or ſheds for boats, &c. and laying foot-banks, for the ſervice of muſketry, to the parapet of the rampart, or wall next the country ſide of our garriſon; which, in many places, is above nine feet in height, and ſeems to be an unfiniſhed piece of work. The guards do not mount until the evening, on account of the foregoing ſundry occupations.

4th. Moderate weather theſe two days: in conſequence of orders for this purpoſe, to-day has been dedicated to Divine ſervice and a ſolemn thankſgiving for the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms, in the reduction of this fortreſs; the troops were excuſed all duties of labour and fatigue, and, about eleven o'clock, the ſeveral regiments marched to the church of the Urſulines, preceded by our General Officers, where they heard an excellent ſermon ſuitable to the *occaſion* *; ſeveral French merchants, ſaid to be of the Reformed religion, and commonly called Hugonots †, attended, though unacquainted with our language.

5th. We had an inceſſant heavy rain this day. I removed the tenement aſſigned me for my quarters, which is a cart-houſe and a a ſtable, called, by the inhabitants, *Un Hangar*; within it is a ſpacious, but unfiniſhed, apartment, with a cloſet; it has no cieling, ſave a parcel of boards laid looſe; and it thereby forms a loft, or place for hay; a rack and manger ſtood at the other end for

* The text was taken from Pſalm xviii. 50.

† This is an epithet of reproach by which our enemies have ever diſtinguiſhed the Proteſtants in France, and for this the following reaſons are aſſigned: 'At the 'city of Tours, in that kingdom, there is a gate called Hugo's gate, where the 'Proteſtants were formerly accuſtomed to meet for Divine worſhip; or from King 'Hugo's ghoſt, being the *ſcarecrow* uſed in that city to frighten children, and which 'was ſaid to walk in the ſuburbs in the night, at the time and place uſually appointed 'for the Reformed to aſſemble." Charles IX. of France forbad this name by an edict.

THUANUS, lib. xxiv.

horſes,

horſes, from which however I was ſeparated by a ſtone partition. 1759. October.
I have troubled the reader with this trifling circumſtance, to give him ſome idea of our winter cantonment; ſeveral Officers, it is true, were better lodged, particularly thoſe of ſuperior rank; yet I was far from being ſingular: there were a great many who, though they had a more decent entrance to their houſes, were much more indifferently lodged; for, with the aſſiſtance of a good ſtove, and ſome carpentry-work, my habitation was rendered tolerably comfortable. Five deſerters arrived to-day from the upper country; they ſay their troops are in the greateſt diſtreſs for proviſions, particularly bread and ſpirituous liquors; and think it will be miraculous, if they can ſubſiſt this winter. Their head quarters are at Jacques Cartier, about ſix or eight leagues from this garriſon.

Being detached on a faſcine party to-day, I diſcovered a ſmall 6th.
trunk covered with ſeal-ſkins, concealed in a thick coppice: on breaking it open I found a ſcalp, which I ſuppoſe to have been a child's, with fair hair, *en papillote*; it was about the ſize of a large ſaucer ſtretched on a hoop, and the fleſh-ſide painted. There was a letter from a perſon in the country to his uncle, a merchant in the upper town of Quebec, containing a moſt pathetic picture of diſtreſs; a Mic-Mac was mentioned to be the bearer of it. There were likewiſe in the trunk ſome damaged powder, muſket-balls, buck-ſhot, and ſeveral ſquare ſlugs, three inches long, of lead and iron, with a ſcalping knife and ſome other immaterial trumpery.

Pleaſant weather to day; a Canadian of diſtinction, with a young 8th.
ſavage valet, arrived from Montreal. Having, in the courſe of this campaign, procured a curious Indian manuſcript grammar, compoſed by a French Miſſionary, I tranſmitted it, this day, to England, with the above-mentioned ſcalp; when my friend, who was the bearer of them, called upon me for his charge, I was employed in taking extracts from that ingenious work; which, though imperfect, I ſhall here preſent to my reader. The author obſerves, 'that the 'natives are ſo rude as to have no letters or characters among 'them, and conſequently there is is no certain way of writing their

1759. October. ‘ names of things; all that can be done is to expreſs their harſh ‘ ſounds or guttural pronunciations, as near as poſſible, in our ‘ own letters. Their manner of expreſſion is vehement and em- ‘ phatical; their ideas being few, their language is not copious, ‘ but conſiſts of a parcel of words, ill contrived by a rumbling ‘ and ungraceful ſound of many ſyllables.—Here follow a few ‘ ſpecimens *:

‘ I, or me - - - - - *Nir.*	‘ You, - - - - - *Quiraoua.*
‘ Thee, or thou, - - *Quir.*	‘ You, we, or us, - *Quiraoueint.*
‘ He, or him, - - - *Ouir.*	‘ They, or them, - - *Ouiraoua.*
‘ We, - - - - - - *Niraouint.*	

‘ N. B. *Qu* muſt be pronounced like a *k*; — *ou* as *w*; — *a*, which by the generality ‘ of Britons is abſurdly and erroneouſly pronounced as *è* in French, muſt be expreſſed ‘ *au*, as in the Engliſh word *all*, &c.

‘ Ax, or great Ax, - *Agaquet.*	‘ Canoe, - - - *Chiman, or Shieman.*
‘ A little Ax, - - *Agaquetous.*	‘ Corn, - - - - *Malomin.*
‘ All, - - - - - *Cuquina.*	‘ Courage, - - - *Tagouamiſſi.*
‘ Always, - - - *Caquellie.*	‘ Comrade, - - - *Nitchee.*
‘ Aſhes, powder, duſt, *Pingo.*	‘ Captain, or leader, *Oquima.*
‘ Aſſiſt, or aid, - - *Muouineoua.*	‘ Child, little children, *Bobiloochins.*
‘ Afterwards - - *Mipidatch.*	‘ Country, - - - *Endalaquian.*
‘ Ball, - - - - - *Alouin.*	‘ Dead, - - - - *Nipouin.*
‘ Bear, - - - - - *Macqua.*	‘ Die, or I die, - *Nip.*
‘ A little Bear, - *Maquons.*	‘ Devil, - - - *Matchimanitoo.*
‘ Beaver, - - - *Amic.*	‘ Dog, - - - - *Alim,*
‘ Beaver-ſkin, - - *Apiminique.*	‘ A little Dog, - *Alimons.*
‘ Bread - - - - *Paboochican.*	‘ Drink, - - - *Miniquee,*
‘ Brother, - - - *Nicanich.*	‘ Duck, - - - - *Chichip.*

* When I conſented to the publication of theſe volumes, I flattered myſelf I ſhould have been able to procure this grammar, in order either to annex a copy of the principal part of it to the work, or to have extracted the moſt remarkable rules and examples, for the peculiar gratification of the *literati* and the curious; but, though I made repeated applications for it in perſon, and expreſſed how intereſting it would be to this undertaking, — I was not ſo happy as to ſucceed.

Earth,

‘ Earth, - - - - -	*Acq, or acquin.*	‘ France - - - - -	*Mittigoochiouec. Endalaquianc.*
‘ To eat, - - - - -	*Ouiſſin.*	‘ God, great Spirit, &c.	*Quitchimanitoo.*
‘ Engliſh, - - - - -	*Ouatſaquaminc. Datchirini.*	‘ Good, - - - - - -	*Coolatch.*
‘ Eyes, - - - - -	*Ooſquinchic.*	‘ Girl, - - - - - -	*Icqueſſens.*
‘ Father, - - - - -	*Nooſs,*	‘ Hair, - - - - - -	*Liſſis.*
‘ Fatigued, - - - -	*Tacooſſi.*	‘ Heaven, - - - - -	*Spimincacquin.*
‘ Fat, - - - - - -	*Pimate.*	‘ Head, - - - *r* - -	*Ooſticoban.*
‘ Fire, - - - - - -	*Scoot.*	‘ Hungry, - - - - -	*Pacquate.*
‘ Firelock, - - - -	*Scootecan.*		
‘ Fuſil, or Fuzee, - -	*Paſquiſſigan.*	‘ It freezes hard, - -	*Quaſſinamagat.*
‘ Fiſh, - - - - - -	*Quicons.*		

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The fleet are dropping down towards Coudre, to be in readineſs to ſail with the firſt fair wind. 10th.

I was ſent on a week's command, this day, to the convent of the Auguſtines, or general hoſpital; my orders were “ to prevent “ ſoldiers and others from plundering or marauding in that neigh- “ bourhood; to protect the houſe, with all its inhabitants, gardens, “ and incloſures from inſult; to examine all perſons that arrive from “ the country; to give immediate notice to the garriſon, if any “ number of men ſhould appear in arms, either by detaching “ a Serjeant, or firing three diſtinct muſkets; and, if not in- “ ſtantly anſwered, muſt be repeated; not to ſuffer any lug- “ gage, horſe or cart loaded, to depart the hoſpital, without a “ poſitive order or paſſport; to ſeize all fire-arms, ammunition, “ or whatever may be uſeful to the enemy, which may happen “ to be in the environs of the guard; and, finally, to grant per- “ mits to Surgeons, Mates, or Domeſtics belonging to the convent, “ &c. when they are neceſſitated to paſs towards the town on “ their lawful occaſions.” I lived here, at the French King's table, with an agreeable polite ſociety of Officers, Directors, and Commiſſaries; ſome of the gentlemen were married, and their ladies honoured us with their company; they were generally chearful, except when we diſcourſed upon the late revolution, and the affairs 11th.

1759. October. of the campaign; then they ſeemingly gave way to grief uttered by profound ſighs, and followed by an *O mon Dieu.* The Officers ſoon perceived that, though I did not expreſs myſelf with great facility in their language, I perfectly underſtood them, and therefore they agreed to converſe in Latin; which, though far from being conſiſtent with their boaſted *politeſſe*, did not affect me ſo as to be offended; for I was more upon an equality with them in that tongue, eſpecially as they ſpoke it with leſs fluency, than their own. They generally concluded with ſome rapturous ſentences, delivered theatrically, ſuch as

Per mare, per terras, per tot diſcrimina rerum, &c. and
Nos patriam fugimus, nos dulcia linquimus arva.

— at length, after racking my memory for a diſtich, or line applicable to the times, I interrupted them with this citation from Virgil, *O Melibœe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit!* which ſo ſurpriſed them, that, having ſtared — at each other for ſome moments, one of them approached me, and aſked, if I could ſpeak Latin? I then, with ſeeming diffidence, anſwered in the affirmative, affecting their accent with tolerable exactneſs; this diſcovery put a period to all farther converſations in that language; for they neither attempted to ſpout, or utter a word of Latin, while I continued among them. We dined, every day, between eleven and twelve, and afterwards were reſpectively ſerved with a cup of *laced* coffee; our dinners were generally indifferent, but our ſuppers (what they call their *grand repas*, or beſt meal) were plentiful and elegant. I was at a loſs, the firſt day, as every perſon was obliged to uſe his own knife and wine, there being only a ſpoon and a four-pronged fork laid with each napkin and plate; however, in the evening, my ſervant attended me with ſome excellent port, a goblet, knife and fork; the latter, being different from theirs', particularly the knife's being round, and not ſharp-pointed, together with the ſuperior ſtrength of my

my wine (which they by no means diſliked) to their poor ſour ſtuff, afforded us a copious ſubject for agreeable converſation, with variety of opinions and remarks upon the different cuſtoms of countries. Each perſon here produces an ordinary claſped knife from his pocket, which ſerves him for every uſe; and, when they have dined or ſupped, they wipe and return it: the one I had, before I was provided with my own, was lent me by the Frenchman who ſtood at my chair, and it gave my meat a ſtrong flavour of tobacco, which, though it might have ſupplied the want of garlick to the owner, or his countrymen, was ſo exceedingly diſguſtful to me, that I was obliged to change my plate, and it was with difficulty I could eat any more: the hour for ſupper was between ſix and ſeven in the evening. As we dined ſo early, I gave myſelf no trouble about breakfaſt; but, after being there two or three days, one of the nuns delivered me a polite billet from Madame St. Claude, the Mother-Abbeſs, requeſting my company to partake of an Engliſh breakfaſt, as ſhe called it; to which the bearer added, 'If you are ready, 'Sir, I will do myſelf the honour to ſhew you the way.' I inſtantly followed my conductreſs to a ſpacious apartment, where I found the Lady with ſeveral of the ſiſters employed at needle-work. A table was placed in the middle of the room, on which ſtood two large ſilver coffee-pots, one quart and one pint mug, a plentiful loaf of bread, a plate of butter, and a knife; on another plate lay five or ſix ſlices of bread, not leſs than an inch thick each, and half the circumference of the loaf, covered with a profuſion of butter. Upon my entering, I paid my compliments to the oldeſt of the ladies (in which I happened to be right, ſhe being the Governante) and then to the others; two chairs were immediately ſet to the table, and, Madame St. Claude deſiring I would take my place, we both ſat down. She then pointed to the coffee-pots telling me, one contained tea, the other milk; but, perceiving it was not to my taſte, for the tea was black as ink, ſhe aſſured me there was half a pint of it

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October. 1759. it in the pot, and it had been well boiled with the water; I told her it was rather too good for me, and that I ſhould make a good repaſt of bread and milk. Hereupon, I was not a little incommoded with apologies; and I remember ſhe obſerved, 'that they are 'not accuſtomed to ſuch diet, for that they never drink tea, except, 'in caſes of indiſpoſition, to work off an emetic; when it is always 'boiled in water, to render it as ſtrong as poſſible.' Madame, with ſome concern, politely propoſed to order in a pot of coffee, which I did not conſent to; and ſhe aſſured me it ſhould have been prepared at firſt; but ſhe had heard the Engliſh always preferred tea for breakfaſt. However, I fared exceedingly well upon the other proviſion that was made for me, and paſſed near two hours moſt agreeably, in the ſociety of this ancient Lady and her virginal ſiſters. — My pen was very frequently employed in writing permits for the people of this hoſpital; when the weather permitted it, and I was not engaged, I uſually walked in the garden with one or two French Officers, and, at other times, played at piquet with them. It was whilſt on this command that I had an opportunity of viewing diſtinctly this edifice, church, and chapel, as already deſcribed; and, in this manner, much to my ſatisfaction, I ſpent the eight days allotted for this duty.

13th. The troops in garriſon were muſtered to-day, and four deſerters arrived from the French army; they inform us, that an attempt is much talked of for the recovery of this fortreſs in the winter, but that, in general, ſuch rumours are vague, and only thought to be propagated to keep the Canadians in ſpirits and their forces together; they add, that, poſſibly, the great diſtreſs of the enemy may, before the expiration of many months, drive them upon ſome deſperate enterpriſe, or compel the militia to diſperſe, and the regulars to ſurrender.

18th. After a ſeries of exceeding bad weather, ſuch as tempeſtuous winds and almoſt inceſſant rain, it was, yeſterday evening, more moderate, and the wind, ſhifting to the north-weſt, brought on a ſmart froſt in the

the night; to-day it is mild and pleaſant. The ſmall craft in the river have been much damaged by the late hard gales; the Admiral, with the remainder of the fleet in the baſon, weighed anchor, ſaluted the garriſon with twenty-one guns, which were returned by the like number from our batteries; and fell down to Coudre, in order to take the firſt favourable opportunity of returning to England; two ſloops of war are to winter here with us, viz. the Racehorſe of twenty guns, and the Porcupine of eighteen, commanded by Captain Miller and Captain M'Cartny. 1759. October.

Our weather cold and ſeaſonable. The reliefs for the detachments at the General Hoſpital and Beauport were ordered to march a few miles up the country, on the banks of the river Charles, in ſearch of canoes, batteaus, or gun-carriages; they returned, in the afternoon, without making any diſcoveries, and took their reſpective guards. A general court-martial ſat, this day, for the trial of a deſerter. 19th.

A Serjeant and two privates have been lately carried off, ſuppoſed to be by Indians, as two ſmall parties of theſe rabble have been hanging about the villages of Beauport and St. Foy, for ſeveral days paſt. Some deſerters are brought in, who report, that Monſieur De Levis declares he will oblige us to keep cloſe within our walls, until the time he has appointed for action ſhall arrive, when he is determined to try, if he cannot recover Quebec by a *coup de main*. 20th.

ORDERS.

" One Lieutenant-Colonel and Major are appointed as Field-Of- 21ſt.
" ficers of the day. Three Captains are appointed for guard; one
" for a fatigue-party with arms, and two, for the like ſervice,
" without arms. The troop to beat at nine o'clock for the future;
" two hundred men, who have been bred to work cannon, to pa-
" rade at three o'clock this afternoon; thoſe regiments, that cannot
" give

1759. October. "give their proportions of ſuch as have been accuſtomed to work "at the ordnance, muſt complete their numbers by others, whom "the artillery will teach; thoſe men are to attend the train every "morning at eight o'clock, until farther orders. Whereas three "men have lately been taken by the enemy, in conſequence of their "ſtroling into the country: for the future, no ſoldier, or other "perſon, are to paſs out of the gates of the town, or be permitted "to paſs any of the guards, or centries, in the ſuburbs of the "garriſon, on any pretence whatſoever."

This day a Serjeant and eleven men, belonging to a guard in the low town, went into an adjoining cellar in ſearch of plunder, where, having lighted a candle, they threw the piece of burning paper they had uſed for that purpoſe on the ground, which inſtantly caught a quantity of powder, placed there accidentally or otherwiſe, and blew up; by this unhappy diſaſter four men were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt were miſerably ſcorched and disfigured. Private notice has been given to the troops to prepare for a review. High Maſs was performed this day in the church of St. Urſula, in commemoration of her birth; I went, with ſeveral other Officers, to ſee their ceremonies, where we ſaw all their finery and different veſtments diſplayed, and were very agreeably entertained.

ORDERS.

22d. "The following regiments to be ready to-morrow on their alarm-"poſts at eleven o'clock, and to march, when ſent for, to be re-"viewed upon the grand parade, viz. the fifteenth, twenty-eighth, "thirty-fifth, forty-third, and ſecond battalion of Royal Americans; "the other five regiments are to take the guards to-morrow, which "will mount at eight o'clock. Twenty-five men, who can row "and manage boats, to be given to Lieutenant Patiſhal, one of the "Fort-Adjutants, to take care of the boats of the garriſon; thoſe "men are to do no other duty."

The

The general court-martial is diſſolved: a Captain-Lieutenant of the Royal Americans was tried, and honourably acquitted; a private ſoldier is condemned to die for deſertion. The French or Spaniſh ſhips are expected down by the next tide; our centries are ordered to keep a good look-out for them, and a number of gunners are in readineſs at the batteries oppoſite the ſouth ſhore, at every tide of ebb. Our weather is very variable, one day exceſſively wet, and the next tolerably fair; the inhabitants ſay, that this ſummer and autumn have been uncommonly rainy. 1759. October.

ORDERS.

"The honourable Brigadier-General Murray, being to remain 23d.
"in command of the corps, is appointed to act as Governor, and
"Colonel Burton as Lieutenant-Governor, of the town of Quebec
"and its dependencies. The five following regiments to be ready
"on their alarm-poſts to be reviewed to-morrow at eleven o'clock,
"if weather permits, viz. the forty-ſeventh, forty-eighth, fifty-
"eighth, third battalion of Royal Americans, and ſeventy-eighth.
"The Adjutants are deſired to apply to the Aſſiſtant Quarter-Maſ-
"ter-General for a proportion of thread, which was found in the
"French ſtores, to be diſtributed to the reſpective companies of the
"ſeveral corps, in order to repair and keep their cloaths whole."

Our weather changed again to rain laſt night, and continued this day without intermiſſion; the French cavalry came this morning into our neighbourhood, and carried off ſome priſoners, and a conſiderable number of black cattle belonging to the general hoſpital. The Governor has reſolved to make ſevere repriſals for theſe outrages, and to oblige the enemy to keep at a greater diſtance from our environs.

ORDERS.

1759. October 24th. "Two Captains, ten Subalterns, twenty-two Serjeants, and a "thouſand rank and file, to parade for fatigue to-morrow morn- "ing at day-break; the guards to parade to-morrow at ten o'clock, "and continue to do ſo until farther orders."

An Officer of the twenty-eighth regiment was buried yeſterday. General Monckton has reviewed all the troops. A ſculking party of the enemy, ſupported by ſome light cavalry, attempted to force our poſt in the great redoubt on the north ſide of Charles's river, but were ſoon repulſed by the detachment there, without any loſs: one horſe and rider were killed, on the part of the aſſailants; when the latter fell, his companions threw him a-croſs another horſe, and carried him off; it is conjectured they had ſeveral men wounded. A Subaltern and fifty privates, with Non-commiſſioned in proportion, were ſent to reinforce that poſt; they marched out of port St. John, under the eſcort of a much larger command, who took a tour of ſome miles round by Sillery, and returned by Port St. Louis. In conſequence of the repeated inſults of the enemy, orders were this day ſent to the ſeveral guards next the country to exert the greateſt vigilance, and, if any number of men with arms ſhould appear upon the heights, to ſhut the gates, and apprize the Commander in Chief without delay. Upon the robbery being committed by the enemy at the general hoſpital, a meſſage was ſent to the Superior of the Jeſuits, to aſſure him, if the cattle were not reſtored within a certain time, his ſociety ſhould be immediately baniſhed the town, and not permitted to return, on pain of death; the reſult of which, and a report made thereof by theſe crafty fathers to the French Commander, was, that the cattle were all ſafe returned this even- ing. One of our ſoldiers was found killed and ſcalped on Abra- ham's Plains: this murder is ſuppoſed to have been perpetrated yeſterday; it is ſaid, that two Canadians of the conquered country

have ſhared the ſame fate with the other, but I do not take upon me to affirm it. The French ſhips are fallen down to Cape Rouge; it is expected they will attempt to repaſs the town this night, and, at the ſame time, as is currently reported, a diverſion, by way of experiment, will be made, on two diſtinct quarters of our fortreſs, by ſome choſen corps under M. Levis and M. Bougainville: be that as it may, precautions are thought neceſſary; a large quantity of ammunition is iſſued out this afternoon to the troops, every ſoldier is ordered to lie in his cloaths and accoutrements, and an additional Captain's guard mounted at ſun-ſet. 1759. October.

General Monckton went down the river and embarked, to proceed to New-York for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health; he was ſaluted by the garriſon. Major Irving, of the fifteenth regiment, is appointed to act as Quarter-Maſter-General in the room of Colonel Carleton: and the honourable Captain Maitland, of the forty-third regiment, to act as Adjutant-General in the room of Major Barrè, both having retired to the ſouthward for the recovery of their wounds. The Jeſuits have received orders to depart the town, as ſoon as poſſible. 26th.

ORDERS.

"Orderly time for the future at eleven o'clock. One Captain, "four Subalterns, eight Serjeants, two Drummers, and two hun- "dred men, to parade, to-morrow morning, for fatigue with arms; "two Captains, ſix Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, and ſix hundred "rank and file, to parade, at the ſame time, without arms, to re- "move ſtores and proviſions; and two Colonels, ſix Subalterns, "twelve Serjeants, and ſix hundred rank and file, to parade, at day- "break to-morrow, for fatigue without arms; (five Captains, ſix- "teen Subalterns, thirty Serjeants, and fourteen hundred rank and "file, in all.) — A ſloop being arrived with eighteen caſks of eels, "at two pounds ten ſhillings per caſk, to be ſold to the Officers "of the army; any Officers, who chuſe to buy them, to ſend their "names 28th.

1759. October. "names to the Adjutant-General this evening, and the Governor "will give orders for their being delivered."

The ſeveral corps of Officers are paying their compliments to the Governors. The method, we are told, by which the enemy propoſe to recover Quebec, is by ſetting it on fire with a ſhower of fire-arrows, and then to ſtorm the place, while we are in the confuſion which the general conflagration, it is ſuppoſed, will occaſion among us. We have opened ſeveral embraſures in the curtains of the walls looking to the country, and mounted guns on them, twelves and twenty-four pounders. The Jeſuits' college being now evacuated, we are converting it into a magazine for proviſions; this gives great umbrage to the inhabitants. A deſerter was ſhot to death on the grand parade, purſuant to the ſentence of a general-court-martial. Our weather uncertain, generally wet; air raw and cold. The Canadians inform us, that the army under General Amherſt are returned by lake Champlain to Crown Point for the winter, and that they had not reached the iſle au Noix; which was a great diſappointment to Monſieur Bourlemacque, as he had lately received a large reinforcement. A barrier is erected on the outſide of the ſtrong angle near the hangman's redoubt, which covers the lower road leading from Palace-gate through the ſuburb of St. Rocque, to the General Hoſpital, the river Charles, and the adjacent country; a houſe, conveniently ſituated without this barrier, is fortified to contain a detachment; as is alſo a ſmaller habitation on the inſide for a Serjeant's guard; the former is on the north ſide of the road, and the other on the ſouth. From theſe poſts intirely round that quarter, we have extended a line of picquets with loop-holes for muſketry, which are ſtrengthened, at the extremities of the point, by block-houſes; a chain of theſe timber fortreſſes are to be conſtructed on the heights, round the outſide of the ramparts, at ſix or ſeven hundred yards diſtance, a-croſs the iſthmus: theſe will effectually prevent any attempts of the enemy by ſurpriſe; yet, after all the additions we can make, in this way, it will ſtill be an indifferent fortification,

fortification, and tenable only againſt light field artillery and muſketry. — Some French uniforms, blankets, friezes, and flannels, found in the ſtores, are delivered to the ſoldiers gratis; likewiſe fifty hogſheads of ſour claret and a quantity of coarſe ſalt to the *Officers* *. The Governor, by a placart publiſhed this day, permits ſuch of the inhabitants as cannot afford to live in town to retire to the country, with their effects, for the winter. 1759. October.

Three Captains, ten Subalterns, twenty Serjeants, and eight hundred rank and file, ſome with, and others without arms, are ordered for fatigue to-morrow. His Excellency has appointed Lieutenant Warburton, of the 58th regiment, to do the duty of Aſſiſtant Deputy Quarter-Maſter-General, in the room of Captain Matthew Leſlie, who has reſigned. 29th.

The effective ſtrength of the army in this garriſon will appear from the following return:

October 29, 1768.

Regiments.	Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Enſigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Quarter Maſters	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Fifers.	Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks.
15th - -	1	1	3	16	8	1	1	1	1	1	33	14	2	455	
28th - -	1	1	4	9	8	0	1	1	1	1	25	18	2	536	
35th - -	0	1	7	15	8	0	1	1	2	1	39	16	2	728	
43d - -	1	1	7	10	7	1	1	1	1	1	29	18	2	585	
47th - -	0	1	2	15	8	1	1	1	1	1	38	17	2	538	
48th - -	1	0	5	10	7	1	1	1	2	0	28	16	2	802	
58th - -	0	1	3	9	8	0	0	1	1	1	26	16	2	508	
2d Battal. R. Amer.	0	0	4	12	6	0	1	1	1	1	31	14	2	465	
3d Ditto -	1	0	6	16	7	0	1	1	2	1	34	16	2	540	
78th - -	1	0	7	24	12	1	1	1	2	1	50	25	4	978	
Rangers -	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	100	
Royal Artillery.	0	1	2	9	0	0	1	1	0	1	6	6	0	195	
Total	6	7	51	147	79	5	10	11	14	10	343	178	22	6430	7313

* Two buſhels of this ſalt, with a ſixth of a hogſhead of wine, fell to my lot; theſe, with the eels we lately bought, being better ſuited to the palates of Frenchmen than Britons, we bartered with the country-people for beavers, hares, mutton, and other freſh proviſions, which were very difficult to be acquired.

Our

1759. October. Our weather very tempeſtuous, with conſtant rain. The citizens, particularly the females, reproach M. Vaudreuil, upon every occaſion; and, after giving full ſcope to their bitter invectives, they conclude with imprecating, 'that he may be brought to as miſerable and barbarous an exit as ever an Euporean ſuffered under ſavages.' At theſe ſeaſons I have frequently interrupted them, by throwing in, 'Or as ever an Engliſhman ſuffered under ſavages by his orders;' to which, in their rage, they always aſſented; yet, when theſe paſſions ſubſided, they never would admit that the barbarians had perpetrated their cruelties, at any time, on our people, by authority from either Vaudreuil, Montcalm, or others; of the falſity of this, however, we have too many undeniable proofs. A ſoldier of the twenty-eighth regiment, who has been miſſing for ſome time, was yeſterday diſcovered, in the coppice to the weſtward of the general hoſpital, killed and ſcalped; one of his arms was cut off; his bowels were taken out and cut into ſhreds almoſt innumerable, with a long ſkewer thruſt through his upper lip, noſtrils, and the crown of his head; the bloodhounds carried away his heart.

31ſt. Our weather is changed to froſt and ſleet: the like detachments employed theſe two days on duties of fatigue as on the 29th; a French frigate came down under Spaniſh colours; we gave her three guns, two of which paſſed through her hull, and obliged her to ſtrike; a detachment was immediately ſent on board, and her crew ordered into confinement.

Nov. 2d. Three Captains, ten Subalterns, twenty Serjeants, and eight hundred rank and file, with and without arms, for fatigue, as before. A detachment of a Major, two Captains, ſix Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, four Drummers, with two hundred rank and file, their arms in good condition, and ammunition completed to *forty rounds* per man, are under orders of readineſs to march, at a moment's warning.

The

The following ſpirited manifeſto was publiſhed, in the beginning of this month; the copy that fell into my hands had no preciſe date; but, as it ſeems to be prior to our winter operations, it may be ſeaſonable to inſert it in this place: 1759. Nov.

‘ Par Monſeigneur Jaques Murray, Brigadier-General, Commandant en Chef les Troupes de ſa Majeſté Brittannique dans la Riviere de St. Laurent, Gouverneur-General de Quebec, et du Païs conquis, &c. &c.

‘ Après une campagne rude et penible, nous ne peuſions qu'a donner du repos aux troupes, et laiſſer reſpirer les peuples en tranquilité, après les malheurs qu'ils ont eſſuyés durant le cours de cette année, marquée par tant d'evenements grands et deciſifs; mais, malgrè les intentions ſi humaines, je me vois rappellé en campagne, par la fidelité que je dois a mon Prince, et pour proteger les peuples ſoumis à ſes armes. Par quel droit Monſieur de Vaudreuil peut il donner des ordres à des gens qu'il a abandonnés à leurs mauvaiſe fortune? Quel tour peut il donner aux ordres injuſtes et cruels donnés aux ſauvages de courir ſus et detruire les Canadiens ainſi abandonnés, et ce, après une ſuite d'injuſtices et de violences, pour mettre le dernier comble a leurs malheurs? Comme les Generaux des ennemis ont jugé à propòs de lever des contributions ſur les paroiſſes que nous ſont ſoumiſes, les loix de la guerre et de la juſtice m'obligent d'uſer de repréſailles ſur celles d'en haut; en cela, comme pour l'avenir, leur conduite reglera toujours la mienne. Il ſeroit heureux pour les Canadiens, que, moins ſoigneux de leur gloire, ils ſougeaſſent uniquement au bien de l'état; les courſes ſur les Canadiens ſeront reprimées; l'habitent jouiroit du repos; ouvrez les yeux ſur vos propres interêts: toute communication avec l'ocean étant bouchée, ſans eſpoir, ſans reſſource, avec un grand corps des troupes aguerries dans le ſein du païs, un autre à ſes portes, preſque tous les poſtes

‘ d'enhaut

1759. Nov. ‘ d'enhaut emportés ou abandonnés: nous vous exhortons avec ‘ empreſſement d'avoir recours à un peuple libre, ſage, genereux, ‘ prêt a vous tendre les bras à vous affranchir d'un deſpotiſm vi- ‘ goreux, et à vous faire partager avec eux les douçours d'une ‘ gouvernment juſte, moderé, et equitable: — que ſi vous ne profites ‘ de cette avis, vous avez à attendre le traitement le plus ſevere, qui ‘ puiſſe être permis, par le droit de la guerre. — Les manifeſtes des ‘ Generaux Wolfe et Monckton ont reſpirés les ſentiments le plus ‘ doux et le plus humains; leurs menaces auſſi étoient juſtes. ‘ Ces menaces juſques ici n'ont pas été executées, parce qu'on ſça- ‘ voit combien l'on s'étoit attaché à faire accroire aux Canadiens, ‘ que les Anglois étoient des gens ſans foi et ſans humanité; à ‘ préſent ils doivent ſentir combien on leur en a impoſée: — notre ‘ conduite envers ceux de leurs compatriottes qui nous ſont ſoumiſes ‘ met ce fait en evidence. — Ainſi comme il n'y aura plus d'excuſe ‘ pour les Canadiens, ſi jamais ils prennent la partie d'avoir recours ‘ aux armes, ils doivent, dans ce cas, s'attendre à toutes les ‘ rigeurs qui peuvent être exercés par une armée victorieuſe et juſte- ‘ ment irritée; le blame en retombera ſur eux mêmes, une telle ‘ conduite ſera dictée par la nature humaine, et les loix des nations ‘ et de la guerre la juſtifiera pleinement. Fait à Québec, et ſcellé ‘ du ſceau de nos armes, ce Novembre, 1759.

‘ Par Monſeigneur, &c. CRAMAKE.

‘ JACQUES MURRAY.’

There being many readers who are not converſant in the French language, I ſhall here annex a tranſlation of this ſenſible and ſeaſonable placart.

‘ By

'By the Honourable James Murray, Brigadier-General, Com- 1759. Nov.
'mander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Troops in the
'River St. Laurence, Governor-General of Quebec, and of the
'conquered Country, &c. &c.

'In consequence of a most severe and painful campaign, we 'thought of nothing else but to repose our troops, and to let the 'people breathe in tranquillity, after the misfortunes they have 'suffered in the course of this year, marked with so many grand 'and decisive events; but, notwithstanding such our humane in- 'tentions, I see myself, through that fidelity which I owe to my 'King, and for the protection of the people submitted to his arms, 'again called into the field. By what authority can Mr. Vaudreuil 'issue out his commands to the people whom he has abandoned 'to their distresses? What reason can he assign for the unjust and 'cruel orders he has given to the savages to fall upon and destroy 'the Canadians thus deserted, and this, after a series of injustice 'and violence, to put the finishing stroke to their misfortunes? As 'the Generals of the enemy have thought proper to raise contri- 'butions on the parishes that are submitted to us, the laws of 'war and of justice oblige me to make reprisals on those of the 'upper country; in such cases, for the future, their conduct shall 'always regulate mine. It will be happy for the Canadians, if, less 'solicitous for glory, they think of nothing but the good of the 'state; the incursions of the enemy against them shall be restrained; 'the inhabitants shall enjoy quietness; open your eyes to your 'own interests: all communications with the ocean being stopped 'up, without hope, without resource, with an army of experienced 'veterans in the heart of your country, another at its gates, al- 'most all your frontier barriers snatched from you, or abandoned! 'We ardently exhort you to have recourse to a free people, wise, 'generous, ready to embrace you, to free you from a severe despo- 'tism, and to make you partake of the blessings of a moderate

1759. Nov. ‘ and moſt upright government, — but, if you will not profit by ‘ this advice, you muſt expect the moſt rigorous treatment, con- ‘ ſiſtent with the laws of war. The manifeſtoes of the Generals ‘ Wolfe and Monckton have breathed the moſt gentle and humane ‘ ſentiments; their menaces were equally ſuitable. Theſe menaces ‘ have not been hitherto executed, becauſe it is well known to ‘ us, that no pains have been ſpared to inculcate in the minds of ‘ the Canadians, that the Britiſh are a people equally void of faith ‘ and humanity; now they muſt perceive, how groſſly they have ‘ been impoſed on, and our behaviour to their countrymen who ‘ have ſubmitted to us clearly demonſtrates it. — Seeing therefore ‘ the Canadians have no farther excuſe, if ever they ſhall preſume ‘ to have recourſe to arms, they muſt, in that caſe, expect all the ‘ horrors that can be inflicted by a victorious and juſtly inraged ‘ army; the blame will then revert upon themſelves; human na- ‘ ture will warrant ſuch a procedure, and the laws of nations and of ‘ war will ſufficiently juſtify it. Given at Quebec, and ſealed with ‘ the ſeal of our arms, this — day of November, 1759.

‘ By his Excellency’s command, CRAMAKE,

‘ JAMES MURRAY.’

ORDERS.

3d. “ The like detachments, for fatigue, with and without arms, “ as uſual. The Governor deſires the Commanding Officers of re- “ giments will not allow the blankets that were delivered out to “ be cut up, until farther orders. Whereas the ſhip that was ex- “ pected with money to pay the army has not arrived, and it is “ now too late to hope for it until the ſpring: it is ordered that the “ men of every corps in the garriſon be accounted with, agree- “ able to the orders of his Excellency the Commander in Chief; “ and that the balances due to the ſoldiers be regularly credited,

" and carried on, until there is an opportunity of clearing them; 1759. Nov.
" which the Governor promiſes ſhall be done, the inſtant that mo-
" ney arrives from the Paymaſter-General. The Officers of port-
" guards have orders to paſs all ſalt which is certified by an Officer
" that he has given it, in exchange for proviſions; one of the rea-
" ſons for the General's ordering ſalt not to paſs out was only
" meant, that the country-people might not be ſupplied by any
" but by the Officers."

The wind has veered to the ſouth-eaſt, which brought on a violent ſtorm accompanied with rain. A citizen of property and credit, being arreſted upon a ſtrong ſuſpicion of correſponding with the enemy, was threatened, if he did not make diſcoveries relative to another (ſuſpected) perſon, he ſhould receive an hundred laſhes, and be drummed out of the garriſon, with a halter about his neck; for this purpoſe the poor man was brought to the grand parade at guard-mounting, where two intercepted letters, directed to himſelf, were produced to confront him. However, he expreſſed ſuch aſtoniſhment at the epiſtles and their contents, with ſo much candour; and affirmed his innocence, with ſo great energy and openneſs of countenance; that Colonel Young (the Field-Officer of the day) generouſly and judiciouſly took upon him to remit the puniſhment, until he ſhould confer with the Governor: — when the Frenchman was ordered to put on his cloaths again (for he had been ſtripped) he proteſted, 'that, if any man could prove he ever acted derogatory to ſtrict probity and good faith, ſince we became maſters of Quebec, he would contentedly ſubmit to the moſt ignominious puniſhment that the Britiſh could inflict upon him!' We are likely to be much diſtreſſed for fire-wood this winter, being at preſent obliged to ſhift with what can be procured from old fences and demoliſhed houſes; but, the ſoldiers having abuſed this indulgence, we are forbidden to collect any more from the ruined habitations; ſo that it is not improbable but we ſhall be driven to the neceſſity of providing ourſelves here, in the ſame manner as when we wintered

1759. Nov. in Nova Scotia. The following regulations, though (neceſſarily) prolix, are too intereſting, not to be inſerted intire in this work.

Standing ORDERS for the Garriſon of Quebec.

4th. "The troop to beat at eight o'clock in the morning; the men for "guard to aſſemble, on their reſpective regimental parades, at half an "hour after, and march from thence to the grand parade, attended "by the Adjutants, who will be anſwerable that every man is pro- "perly dreſſed and accoutred, his arms in good order, with thirty-ſix "rounds of complete cartridges; and in the front a pair of creepers: "to ſave the great expence of paper by loading with cartridges, "the men are to load, before they come to the grand parade, from "powder-horns. — Evening-gun to fire half an hour before ſun-ſet; "the Drummers of every guard will then beat a retreat; the gates "to be ſhut a little after ſun-ſet; the reveillé to beat half an hour "before day-light; each regiment to mount a regimental guard of "one Subaltern, one Serjeant, Corporal, Drummer, and twenty "men, from which patroles are to go, every hour in the night, "through the diſtricts of their regiments; as this guard is not to "turn out to any perſon, the Officer may do the orderly duty in "the regiment, if the Commanding Officer thinks proper. In caſe "of an alarm of the approach of an enemy, the ſignal for which "will be — *three guns fired from the grand parade, three from the* "*ramparts towards the country, and three from the low town*; the "regiments are to aſſemble immediately at their alarm-poſts, and "to ſend inſtantly an Officer to the Governor's houſe for orders. "The Officers and ſoldiers of the artillery, and the ſoldiers of the "different corps appointed to aſſiſt them, are directly to repair to "the batteries aſſigned them, until every thing is quiet. The re- "gimental guards are to ſend conſtant patroles through their re- "ſpective diſtricts, and to make priſoners any inhabitants, men or "women, they find in the ſtreets; all ſoldiers, ſtraggling from

1759. Nov.

" their poſts on this occaſion, are likewiſe to be ſeized, and the " houſes, wherein any extraordinary noiſe is heard, are to be " examined; to execute this properly, it will be neceſſary to rein- " force thoſe guards with a Serjeant and eighteen men. The alarm " for fire will be—*the drums beating to arms*; it will begin by the " Drummers of the regiment in whoſe diſtrict it happens, and is " therefore left to the judgment of the Officer commanding that " corps, whether, or not, it will be requiſite to alarm the whole " garriſon; if it ſhould, the troops are to obſerve the orders given " for the alarm of the approach of an enemy, with this difference, " that fifty men, with Officers in proportion, from each regiment, " are immediately, with buckets and engines belonging to that " corps, to march to the fire without their arms, and the Gover- " nor will be preſent on the ſpot to iſſue his orders; buckets, in " caſe of fire, to be kept at the regimental guards. The alarm- " poſts of the ſeveral regiments as follows:

" The fifteenth, between Port Lewis and the Urſuline baſtion.

" The twenty-eighth, five companies Palace-ſtreet, and five ditto " John-ſtreet.

" The thirty-fifth, ſix companies between the Biſhop's palace " and the battery-guard; and four ditto at the two-gun battery " between the late Montcalm's houſe and Palace-gate.

" The forty-third, in the ſquare before the Jeſuits' college.

" The forty-ſeventh, in the ſtreet where Major Huſſey, their " commanding Officer, quarters.

" The forty-eighth, at the head of their own colours, — the " Intendant's palace.

" The fifty-eighth, between their own barracks and Palace-gate.

" The ſecond battalion of the ſixtieth, in the hollow between the " —— baſtion and Port St. Lewis.

" The third battalion of the ſixtieth, ſix companies by the barrier " and the naval offices, and four ditto by the barrier towards the " Anſe de Mer.

" The

1759. Nov. " The ſeventy-eighth, ſix companies on the grand parade, and " eight between the old citadel and magazine-guard.

" Every regiment to be kept completed to *thirty-ſix rounds* of good " cartridges, and *three good flints* per man. The rolls to be called " every morning at troop-beating, and every evening at gun-firing, " in the preſence of an Officer, who will read to the men all or- " ders relating to them. No ſoldier is to be allowed to intermarry " with the inhabitants, nor are they to work for them. No ſol- " dier to go on board any ſhips, nor into boats, without a paſs from " the Governor. No Officer or ſoldier to lie out of the diſtricts of " their regiments or corps, without the Governor's particular leave. " No ſoldier to have port-liberty without a paſs from the Gover- " nor, for which they are to apply to their Commanding Officers. " All ſoldiers off duty to wear their ſide arms, and, when any of " them go out of the ports, they are to leave them at the guard " till they return; as no man will be allowed to ſtir from their " guards, they are to take with them whatever they may want, for " the time they may be upon guard. No ſoldier to be out of his " quarters, after tattoo-beating; every regiment and corps to pick " out men who underſtand French, to ſend orderly upon their ſick " at the hoſpitals. The water* of this town being unwholeſome, " it is recommended to uſe the river water, which, from long ex- " perience, is found by much the beſt. The great difficulty of pro- " curing wood, which muſt be attended with conſiderable fatigue " to the troops, makes it neceſſary to be particularly ſaving of that " article; ſtoves will contribute thereto; as many therefore as poſ- " ſible muſt be collected, and put up in the mens' quarters. The " walls of the houſes, which are in danger of tumbling down,

* There are ſeveral ſpring-wells in different parts of the upper and lower town; and a report prevailed, that, before Quebec ſurrendered, the enemy had poiſoned or corrupted the waters, by throwing a number of dead dogs and cats into them. I think the inhabitants did not uſe thoſe wells, which makes it ſuſpicious.

" are

" are to be thrown in, to prevent accidents; Commanding Officers 1759. Nov.
" are to take care that this is done in their reſpective diſtricts. As
" it is ordered that no perſons ſhall ſuttle in the diſtrict of any
" corps, without the licence of the Officer commanding that corps,
" it is expected they will be anſwerable for the conduct of their re-
" ſpective ſutlers: no ſutler, or perſon keeping a public-houſe, to
" ſell any liquor before troop-beating, or after tattoo, on pain of
" loſing their licence, and being ſeverely puniſhed. As much rum
" as is conſiſtent with the health of the troops will be iſſued dai-
" ly; therefore no perſon is to preſume to ſell ſpirits. Any perſon,
" detected in buying neceſſaries from ſoldiers or ſailors in his Majeſty's
" ſervice, ſhall not only incur the penalty expreſſed by the act of
" parliament, but be alſo liable to corporal puniſhment, and never
" more be allowed to follow the army. The French inhabitants
" are ordered to put out their lights at ten o'clock at night, and to
" report to the Governor all ſtrangers who lodge in their houſes;
" they are not allowed to have arms or ammunition, nor to hold
" or have any extraordinary meetings. It is the duty of every Bri-
" tiſh ſubject to inform the Governor of every thing that happens
" derogatory to thoſe orders, and every other circumſtance they may
" diſcover, inconſiſtent with the good of his Majeſty's ſervice and
" the proſperity of the nation: if it is required and neceſſary, the
" informers ſhall not only be concealed, but rewarded handſomely,
" in proportion to the importance of the intelligence. No French
" inhabitants to be allowed to work upon the batteries or ramparts
" at any time, nor are they to be in the ſtreets, after it is dark,
" without a lanthorn; after tattoo-beating all French inhabitants,
" found in the ſtreets, are to be made priſoners; and, notwith-
" ſtanding the proclamations iſſued to the citizens, inforcing theſe
" orders, the Commanding Officers of corps will direct their Quar-
" ter-Maſters to repeat them in their reſpective diſtricts, that none
" may plead ignorance. As the regiments will have a number of
" creepers, ſnow-ſhoes or rackets, and mogoſans delivered to them,
" they

1759. Nov. "they will take care to keep them properly fitted, that they may "be come at for uſe on the ſhorteſt notice; the ſnow-ſhoes to be "kept hung up, to prevent the rats and mice from eating them. "Each regiment will likewiſe have a number of ſnow-ſhovels, to "clear away within their own diſtricts, and to keep open commu- "nications. All chimnies are to be ſwept once a fortnight. The "Quarter-Maſters to attend the magazines, when the regiments "are ſerved with proviſions or wood; and to march their men "regularly to and from thence. The French inhabitants of Que- "bec by the capitulation being intitled to the poſſeſſion of their "effects, and his Majeſty's proclamation for the free exerciſe of "their religion, it is determined to puniſh all robbing and plunder- "ing, or inſult offered to their perſons, in an exemplary manner; "and, when any of their proceſſions are made in the public ſtreets, "*it is ordered that the Officers pay them the compliment of the hat*, "becauſe it is a civility due to the people who have choſen to live "under the protection of our *laws* *; *ſhould this piece of ceremony be* "*repugnant to the conſciences of any one, they muſt retire, when the* "*proceſſion approaches*. — As the honour of the nation and this "army is concerned in a ſtrict diſcipline being kept up, all Officers "are to take notice of every diſobedience of orders, or neglect of "duty, they may obſerve in the men of any regiment. It is hoped "this garriſon will conſider themſelves as one corps, zealouſly and "unanimouſly in promoting his Majeſty's ſervice, and preſerving "that reputation which they have ſo juſtly acquired.

"N. B. *Theſe orders to be read to the men once a month.*"

* This is conformable to an order in the like caſe, which was publiſhed, by his Royal Highneſs (of glorious memory) William Duke of Cumberland, to the army in Flanders.

Second

Second Standing ORDERS for the Garriſon and Guards of QUEBEC *. 1759. Nov.

" The relieving Officer to draw up his men oppoſite to the old " guard, and in the ſame order, either three deep, or in a rank intire : " when he has made his guard reſt, the Officers advance towards " one another, paying the compliment of the hat; and the Officer " of the old guard tells him what number of centries are poſted, " their orders, &c. &c. and delivers him a report of the guard with " all orders, &c. The Serjeants and Drummers of the old guard, " at the ſame time, deliver their orders to thoſe of the new guard; " after which both guards ſhoulder, and the corporals of the new " guard number off their men, and draw out their number of cen- " tries to be poſted. The Serjeants of each guard to ſee that the " guard-rooms, and utenſils in charge of the guard, are clean and in " good order; the Drummers are to examine thoſe of the Officers, " and be anſwerable for them. If any thing about the guard- " room is broke or loſt, or any thing under charge of the guard " broke or ſpoiled, ſuch as gates of the town, centry-boxes, picket- " ing, faſcine-work, &c. &c. it is immediately to be reported to " the Town-Major, otherwiſe the Officer will be obliged, at his " own expence, to repair thoſe damages. The relieving Officer is " to examine every thing he is charged with, particularly priſoners, " who are always to be ſeen. As ſoon as the old guard marches off, " the new guard is to be drawn up on the ground vacated by the old " guard, and either ground or lodge their arms, as the weather per- " mits: after which he is to order a Serjeant to make out a roll of " the guard, with the names and numbers of the men, diſtinguiſh- " ing their regiments. If the Governor, or any perſon intitled to

* Theſe regulations were not iſſued out until the 14th inſtant; but, to prevent their interfering with other matters, I think it not improper to annex them to thoſe of the 4th, to which they may be ſuppoſed to form a ſupplement.

1759. Nov. " compliments, ſhould paſs by the guard, during the relief, the " oldeſt Officer is to give the word of command to both the guards. " All guards to turn out to the Governor, as often as he paſſes; " but only to pay him the compliment due to his rank in the " army *, viz. reſted arms and one ruffle. All guards to turn out " to the Lieutenant-Governor, with reſted arms, as often as he " paſſes; to the Colonel of the day, as often as he paſſes; the firſt " time with reſted arms; always after, with ſhouldered arms; to " the Major of the day with ſhouldered arms, as often as he paſſes; " to the Town-Major with ſhouldered arms, as often as he viſits " them; the Town-Adjutants may require any guards to turn out, " in the day-time, to have the rolls called; and, in the night, the " Town-Adjutants may go the rounds, to be received in the ſame " manner as the Town-Major. The rolls to be frequently called, " once between every relief, and oftener, if neceſſary; centries to " be relieved every two hours, till the weather ſets in ſevere; then " they muſt be relieved every hour; and this is to be mentioned " in the reports. The men of every relief to be ſeen and examined " by the Officer or Serjeant of the guard, that they are ſober " and fit for duty; the corporal of every relief and patrole to re- " port, when he returns to the guard, how he found every thing; " patroles to be ſent between every relief, who are to viſit all the " centries. No centry is ever to ſit down on his poſt, or quit his " arms, whiſtle, ſing, or ſmoke tobacco, &c. and to allow no noiſe " or riot near his poſt. Centries poſted upon priſoners not to ſuffer " any thing to be carried in to them, till it is examined by the Ser- " jeant or Corporal of the guard; and, on no account, to allow li- " quor to be carried in to them; all centries to reſt to the Field- " Officers of the garriſon, and, in the night, to all rounds, patroles, " and parties with arms; all centries to challenge, after it is dark: " thoſe on the ramparts only, and without the gates, to demand

* See Mr. Bland's incomparable treatiſe of Military Diſcipline, chap. xivth, article 4th, page 199.

" the

" the counterſign. Centries at the ports and avenues of the town 1759.
" to ſuffer no ſoldier to paſs them, in the day, without a paſs ſign- Nov.
" ed by the Governor; and, after dark, no perſon whatever paſs
" through the wickets, without orders from the Officer of the
" guard; centries upon the ramparts and batteries to ſuffer none
" but Britiſh Officers and ſoldiers to walk there in the day-time;
" in the night, only patroles, rounds, and reliefs. If a centry is
" taken ill, or the cold is ſo great that he cannot ſupport himſelf
" under it, he is to paſs the word from centry to centry, till it
" reaches the guard, that he may be relieved. All centries, except
" thoſe at the guard-room doors, when they challenge, and are
" anſwered, *Rounds or Patroles*, are to reply, — *Paſs*, *Rounds or*
" *Patroles*. If a centry, rounds, or patroles, ſhould diſcover any
" body of troops from the ramparts, or any noiſe like that of an
" enemy approaching, the guard muſt be got under arms. Offi-
" cers commanding port-guards are to ſend all ſtragglers and ſuſ-
" pected perſons to the Governor to be examined; they are to take
" an account of all carts coming into town with proviſions, that
" they may be allowed to return to the country, provided they carry
" nothing contrary to orders; all carts to be ſearched going out, or
" coming into town; and whatever may be of ſervice to the enemy
" is to be ſtopped. Arms, ammunition, and tools of all ſorts, are,
" on no account, to be carried out of town; proviſions, ſhoes,
" ſtockings, and ſuck-like things, are to be ſtopped at the guard,
" the people detained, and a report made immediately. No car-
" riages are ever to be allowed to ſtop in the gate-way, or any
" concourſe of people, men or women, near a guard. All guards
" to be under arms at retreat-beating, and their arms and ammu-
" nition examined; every guard to clear the ramparts of ſnow with-
" in their own centries, to preſerve the communication. In caſe of
" an alarm, or any thing conſiderable in town, the guards are all
" to be kept under arms, and the gates ſhut: all guards to take

1759. Nov. " priſoners French inhabitants who are in the ſtreets, after it is " dark, without a lanthorn; likewiſe all ſoldiers out of their quar- " ters after tattoo. At gun-firing, every night, the port-guards are " to ſend a Serjeant and four men each to the main-guard for the " keys; as ſoon as the centries at the ports ſee the Serjeant com- " ing with the keys, they are to acquaint the guard, which is im- " mediately to get under arms, under the arch of the port, drawn " up in two ranks facing one another, that the keys may paſs be- " tween them; when they arrive, the Officer is to order his men " to reſt their firelocks, and the Drummers to beat a march, while " the gates are locking and unlocking: the Officers of the port- " guards are themſelves to ſee the gates locked; which done, " the keys are to be ſent back to the main-guard by the Serjeant " and eſcort who brought them, the Serjeant whereof is to remain " for the counterſign. The reveillé to beat a little before day- " break, taking it from the main-guard; when all guards are to " be under arms, and to continue ſo until it is broad day-light. " At the reveillé a Serjeant and four men from each port-guard to " be at the main-guard for the keys, which the guards are to re- " ceive, drawn up in the ſame manner; and the gates are to be " opened with the ſame ceremony as they were ſhut, with this " difference, that a patrole be always ſent out to reconnoitre all " the ſuburbs, and return, before the gates are opened. The " Drummers of the port-guards are to beat the reveillé and retreat " upon the ramparts. The Officers of the old guards are, upon " hearing the drums of the new guard, to order their men to ſtand " to their arms; when they come in ſight, they are to make them " ſhoulder; and, when they come very near, the Officer of " the old guard orders his men to reſt their firelocks; upon which " the drums beat a march. After the Officer of the old guard " has delivered his report, and acquainted the relieving Officer with " his charge, his number of centries, patroles, &c. &c. he is to " order

" order his men to ſhoulder ; the new guard to do the ſame, until 1759. Nov.
" the centries are relieved : then the Officer of the old guard orders
" his men to reſt their firelocks, and club, and form their ranks
" to the right or left, the Drummer beating the troop, which is a
" ſignal for the new guard to reſt, and his drum to beat a march.
" Officers commanding guards to diſmiſs them, when they have
" trooped them about one hundred yards from their guard-rooms,
" except the main-guard, which muſt return to, and draw up on,
" the grand parade, there to be diſmiſſed.—The manner of receiving
" rounds as follows : — as ſoon as the centry at the guard-room door
" hears the rounds coming, he is immediately to acquaint the
" guard ; when they come within about twenty paces, he is to
" challenge boldly, and they to anſwer *Rounds :* he then calls out, —
" *Stand, rounds — Serjeant, turn out the guard* ; after which he is
" not to ſuffer the rounds to advance, till ordered by his Officer ;
" as ſoon as the guard is turned out, the Officer is to ſend a Serjeant
" and four men to receive the rounds : when they get within ſix
" or eight paces, the Serjeant is to challenge briſkly — *Who comes*
" *there ?* They anſwer, *Rounds* ; the Serjeant again challenges —
" *What Rounds ?* and, if he is anſwered, — *Town-Major's, Viſiting,*
" or *Grand rounds,* the Serjeant anſwers, — *Stand, rounds ; advance,*
" *Serjeant, with the parole* ; then orders his men to reſt their fire-
" locks ; upon which the Serjeant of the eſcort advances alone, and
" gives the Serjeant of the guard the parole in his ear, and with
" ſuch caution, as that no other perſon may hear him. After re-
" ceiving the parole, he orders the Serjeant to return to his eſcort,
" and, leaving his men to keep the rounds from advancing, goes to
" his Officer and delivers him the parole he received from the Ser-
" jeant ; which the Officer finding right, ſends the Serjeant back
" to his men, and calls out, — *Advance, rounds* ; upon which the
" Serjeant of the guard orders his four men to wheel backward from
" the center, and form a lane, through which the Town-Major,
" or Officer who goes the rounds, is to paſs, the eſcort remaining

" where

1759. Nov. "where they were; and goes up to the Officer, who gives the "parole to the grand rounds; but all others, Town-Major's or "viſiting rounds, are to give the parole to the Officer of the "guard. Rounds may demand an eſcort from any guard; when "the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, think proper to viſit the "guards in the night, they are to be received as grand rounds, and "will anſwer, *Governor's or Lieutenant-Governor's rounds.* When "any detachment or number of armed men enter into town, the "guard by which they muſt paſs are to be under arms. Whenever "the Provoſt applies to any guard for a party, it is to be given him. "Every guard to ſend a man to the parade to conduct the relief; "and, at gun-firing, a Serjeant or Corporal to the orderly room "for the counterſign, who are to have wrote down the names and "regiments of the Officers commanding guards. Every guard to "report to the Field-Officer of the day, at eight o'clock in the "morning; in which report is to be mentioned the number of "centries, the time of the rounds going, and whatever happens "extraordinary; the Officer ſigns it, ſpecifying his rank and regi-"ment; and theſe reports are to be delivered by the Field-Officer "of the day to the Governor. All priſoners to be ſent from the "different guards, where they may be confined, to the main-guard; "the Subaltern of which is to ſend a report to the Town-Major, "every morning, at eight o'clock. A man from the main-guard "to be ſent to acquaint any regiment, which has priſoners there "for ſmall crimes not committed upon garriſon-duty, that they "may ſend for them, and try them by a regimental court-martial. "No centry-box is to be turned or moved, after it is poſted by the "public Officers."

The foregoing orders were commanded to be read to the men off duty by an Officer of a company; and to thoſe on duty by the Officers commanding guards, &c. moreover, that no man might plead ignorance, they were directed to be repeated, for the ſpace of a week.

Doctor

Doctor Ruſſel having repreſented to the Governor that our men are kept exceedingly warm in the conventual hoſpitals by ſtoves, his Excellency has therefore deſired the Commanding Officers of corps to keep the ſoldiers a fortnight from duty, after being diſcharged from thoſe places, leſt their being early expoſed to the cold ſhould occaſion relapſes; theſe men are not to be reported fit for duty in the weekly returns, that they may not be included in the detail of the garriſon. Returns of the ſtate of the ſick are to be made, every Monday, by the Surgeons of the ſeveral corps, to Dr. Ruſſel. The citizen, mentioned under the occurrences of the 3d inſtant, is proved to be innocent; the letters, that had been produced againſt him, were written by a perſon at Montreal, who was formerly his co-partner in trade, with an intent to ruin him; and were ſo artfully contrived, that it was ſcarcely poſſible they could avoid being intercepted: the reaſon aſſigned for this villainy is from the poor fellow's having preferred a Britiſh to a French government. The principal inhabitants offered to lodge bills, to the amount of five thouſand Louis-d'ors, as a ſecurity for this man's integrity and good behaviour. As the removal of proviſions, &c. (ſays the Governor) is of the utmoſt conſequence to the army, it is recommended to the Officers on that duty to keep the men ſtrictly to the taſk allotted them; and he orders one Subaltern Officer, per regiment, for that ſervice every day, that they may have the care of the men of their own corps.—Lamps are to be forthwith made and fixed up at the corners of ſtreets, and at other convenient places: which is an excellent procedure to prevent confuſion, in caſe of alarms; for this purpoſe the Quarter-Maſters of corps are ordered to pick out all the tinmen they can find in the different regiments, and meet the Quarter-Maſter General to-morrow morning. We had an immoderate ſtorm of wind and rain to-day; it cleared up in the evening, and froze hard. 1759. Nov.

Two Captains, ten Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, and ſix hundred rank and file, are ordered for fatigue, without arms, to-morrow. 5th.

The

1759. Nov. The regiments are desired to send in a return, by Thursday next, the 8th instant, of the number of chimnies they will be obliged to occupy in their respective quarters. Intelligence is again received, that Monsieur de Levis intends to storm Quebec, this winter, with all his regulars, and a chosen body of steady, experienced Canadians; amounting in all to fifteen thousand men. The inhabitants of the town affirm, that M. Vaudreuil has informed them *of a general peace being concluded in Europe*. Six hatchet-men per regiment are ordered to parade to-morrow morning, three with axes and the like number with hand-saws, all in good order; these men are to be employed in ripping up a French ship of war on the stocks, and are to be under the direction of Captain Westerstrome, of the Royal Americans, who is appointed for that service, and be excused all other duties.

A DETAIL of the GUARDS at QUEBEC.

Nov. 5. 1759.

Guards.	Capt	Subal	Serj.	Dru.	R. & File.	
Citadel - -	1	3	4	2	104	
Port St. John -	1	1	2	2	52	had, for some time, two Subalterns.
Sub. of St. Rocque	1	1	2	2	52	Idem as Port St. John's.
Fortified house	1	1	2	2	52	
Dock-Guard -	0	1	2	1	51	
Casemate - -	0	1	2	1	51	
Provision No. 1	1	1	3	2	77	
Ditto No. 2 -	0	1	2	1	52	
Ditto No. 3 - -	0	1	1	1	29	
Cape Diamond	0	1	2	1	41	
Otway's Grenad.	0	1	2	1	41	on account of a sally-port leading to the low town, with a thin wall of masonry, forming a curtain or parapet for musketry.
Bishop's Palace -	0	1	2	1	41	
Port St. Lewis -	0	1	2	1	41	
Sub. of St. John	0	1	1	1	26	
Jesuits' College	0	1	2	1	41	converted into a grand Magazine for provisions.
Naval Officers -	0	1	2	1	38	
Palace-gate -	0	1	1	1	26	
Barrier-house - -	0	1	1	1	21	
Boat-guard -	0	0	1	0	13	
Govern. & orderly	0	0	15	1	16	Governor's guard, 1 Serj. 1 Corp. & 12 privates.
Total - - -	5	20	51	24	865	

Over

Over and above the foregoing guards there are one Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, three Drummers, and one hundred and four rank and file, at the great redoubt, on the north ſide of the rivulet of St. Charles; and one Subaltern, one Serjeant, one Drummer, and thirty rank and file, at the general hoſpital: theſe two laſt are eight days' commands, and, beſides theſe, each regiment mounts a Subaltern Officer's guard in their own diſtricts; to which may be added the numbers of all ranks daily employed on ſundry fatigues within and without the garriſon, and the contingent detachments made, both by day and night, to harraſs the enemy and protect our own environs. By this ſtate of our duty, the reader may form ſome idea *of the manner in which we earn our daily bread in this inhoſpitable winter climate*, where we have indifferent quarters, and vile bedding for our poor ſoldiers, who are ill cloathed, without regular pay, or any kind of freſh proviſions; in all thoſe difficulties, the Officers bear a proportionable ſhare; — but ſuch hardſhips cannot, with juſtice, be imputed to any other cauſe, than our critical ſituation in the heart of an enemy's country, remote and excluded from the ſea, and conſequently from every kind of commerce with the reſt of the world, at this ſevere ſeaſon of the year. 1759. Nov.

As the number of Captains in the ten regiments do not exceed fifty, they were all thrown into one common *Roſter*, and from thence nominally appointed, in daily orders, for their different guards, commands, or fatigues; chequering the eldeſt and youngeſt together. — We have a ſmart froſt to-day, though the air is yet moderate.

Six hundred men, with Officers, and Non-commiſſioned in proportion, are daily employed in removing ſtores and proviſions. A black-ſmith from each regiment is ordered to meet the Quarter-Maſter-General to-morrow morning, and a return of the glaziers is deſired to be given in immediately. The Commanding Officers of corps are now permitted to cut up the blankets that were found From the 6th. to the 12th. inclusive.

1759. Nov. in the French magazines, and delivered to them, to be applied to ſuch uſes as they ſhall think proper; theſe are a great acquiſition to the ſoldiers, as they ſerve them for ſocks and gloves, &c. neither Officer nor ſoldier, except the ſick, and thoſe who are to conduct them, are permitted to go to the general hoſpital without a paſſport from the Governor. The Officers have hitherto received rum from the ſtores, in proportion to their rank; as have likewiſe the women who were on the victualling roll, but, by an order of this day, they are all ſtruck off; the women are, for the future, to be victualled at two thirds' allowance only; for this purpoſe they are to be muſtered to-morrow by the Town-Major: ſuch as from ſickneſs cannot appear are to be certified for by their Commanding Officers. Proviſions are iſſued to the women, upon a preſumption that they are uſeful to the ſoldiers, either by attending hoſpitals, or by waſhing for them and the Officers; but henceforth thoſe who ſuttle are not to be enrolled, nor will any be iſſued to thoſe who do not reſide in the mens' quarters. — One Major, ſeven Captains, fourteen Subalterns, twenty-one Serjeants, nine Drummers, and ſeven hundred and twenty-one rank and file, are to parade, at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, with arms in good order, three flints per man, and fifty rounds of ammunition, together with ſix days' proviſions. The anniverſary of his Majeſty's birth was duly obſerved; the artillery, throughout the garriſon, were diſcharged at noon: in the evening the troops marched from their reſpective alarm-poſts to their ramparts between John's Gate and Cape Diamond; there they drew up, two deep, and fired a *feu de joie*, by files, from right to left, which they performed, three times, to the ſatisfaction of the Governors, and the Officers in general. Some men being employed on the iſland of Orleans, in making faſcines, &c. and others, for the recovery of their health; a return of the whole is ordered to be ſent in immediately. Such of the regiments, as can conveniently lodge proviſions in their diſtricts, are to draw from a fortnight's to two months' together, according to

to the ſtowage, or ſpare place they may have to lodge them in ſafety. Our weather, for theſe ſeveral days, has been very whimſical; ſometimes froſt and ſnow, with intermitting thaws, and ſharp air. An order of this day ſays, "thirty thouſand pounds weight of "brown ſugar being in ſtore, the Governor has ordered it to "be delivered to the regiments for the uſe of the ſick, at ſeven pence "per pound; eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, at five ſhillings "per dollar; the Quarter-Maſters are to pay Major Irvine for it in "ready money." The Officers for guard are deſired to be at the orderly room at the firſt troop-beating, to draw for their guards, which they are forbidden to change afterwards, on any account whatever. The detachment of ſeven hundred and twenty-one rank and file, before-mentioned, under Major Huſſey, were countermanded, but a party of them, conſiſting of two Captains, four Subalterns, with non-commiſſioned Officers in proportion, and two hundred men, were ordered out yeſterday morning, and the remainder continued in readineſs; this morning they were attacked by a body of the enemy, and a ſoldier, who was ſlightly wounded, was ſent back for a reinforcement; he ſays, that, when he was leaving them, they were fixing their bayonets, upon the appearance of ſome cavalry coming down, to ſupport their regulars: upon this intelligence Major Huſſey, with the remainder of his command, marched out to ſuſtain the party. The enemy gave out, that General Amherſt has loſt all his armed veſſels, and batteaus, by a great ſtorm on lake Champlain; that he has garriſoned all the poſts that were ceded to him, and was retired, with the remainder of his army, to Albany, for the winter; they add, that they hope, before the ſpring, to be repoſſeſſed not only of their capital, but of all the fortreſſes they have loſt in the courſe of this campaign. Various articles are iſſuing out of the French ſtores, to our ſoldiers, gratis; viz. uniform coats and waiſtcoats, coarſe hats with copper laces, powder-horns, mogoſons, ſome remnants of flannel, coarſe and damaged linens. As an unfortunate Canadian was taking

1759. Nov.

1759. Nov. boat a few days ago, at Point Levi, to come over here with a quantity of freſh proviſions, he was ſet upon by ten of the light cavalry, who, not content with plundering him, beat and abuſed him moſt inhumanly, by wounding him with their ſabres, and ſcarifying his wriſts and arms with their knives; at leaving him they ſaid, 'Now go and tell your fine Engliſh Governor how we 'have treated you, and we hope ſoon to ſerve him, and his valiant 'troops, in the ſame manner.' In a letter, full of French politeneſs, which M. de Levis lately ſent to our Governor, he ſays, 'he hopes the war will be carried on, for the future, as in 'Europe, &c.' The Biſhop of Canada, who has a very amiable character, has alſo wrote a ſenſible and genteel letter to his Excellency, wherein he pleads bad health in excuſe for his not having paid his reſpects to him before this time; ſays, 'he propoſes, as 'ſoon as he is able, to return to Quebec, where he will endeavour 'to live as the Biſhop of a dioceſe, ſurrendered to his Britannic 'Majeſty, ſhould do, &c. We are informed, by the inhabitants, that Monſieur Vaudreuil, and Monſieur Bigot, the Intendant, carried on an immenſe trade here, by ingroſſing every European commodity, as ſoon as ſhips arrived from France; which they inſtantly landed, and lodged in their own magazines; theſe they ſold out by wholeſale to the Merchants, when demanded, at a moſt advanced price, to whom the citizens and country-people paid exorbitantly for every article they ſtood in need of.

ORDERS.

13th. "Each regiment is to give three men to the artillery, to aſſiſt "in making cartridges; men moſt accuſtomed to this work to be "choſen, who are not to be ſent on any out-guard, that they may "be ready, whenever they are wanted. The deſertion, which has "lately happened, cannot proceed from any other cauſe than the "fear

" fear of punishment for enormous crimes of theft and robbery, 1759. Nov.
" which have been amongst us of late: *What else can induce men*
" *to leave a victorious army, abounding with every thing, to join*
" *that of a despicable, routed, starving enemy, who must soon abandon*
" *them to our vengeance?* It is every man's duty to exert himself
" in putting a stop to this horrid crime, and it is the General's
" intention to reward those who will discover any attempt made
" to debauch the mens' principles; the person who apprehends
" a deserter will be paid five guineas; and, if any soldier will inform
" the Governor, his Colonel, or any other Officer, of any person
" attempting to persuade him to desert, he shall receive a reward of
" twenty guineas."

The winter weather is now set in, though it is not yet severe, and is much more agreeable than the extreme wet season we have had for some time past. A barrel of powder, with a cask of fifteen thousand ammunition cartridges, have deen discovered, which had been artfully concealed by a Jesuit's valet, who, with his master, are close confined in separate apartments; this reverend son of Ignatius has insinuated that his domestic is an idiot, and therefore hopes any testimony of his will be disregarded: to which he was answered, — 'that, had this powder been concealed 'under ground four or six weeks ago, it might have damaged, by 'the exceeding moist weather we had at that time; but this, being 'altered to a hard settled frost, plainly shews, that, if the fellow 'is an idiot, his abettors and accomplices are no fools.' The Jesuit was about to make some reply, but was interrupted, and reminded 'that his fraternity have been engaged in some of the 'most horrid conspiracies, and inhuman massacres, that have been 'perpetrated in the world since the foundation of the order 'of Loyola, &c.' I was informed that this conversation passed betwen him and our Governor, but I cannot take upon me to say it was so.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

1759. Nov. 14th. "As wine is allowed to the ſick, for whom it is neceſſary; and "rum is only proper for ſuch men as are in health, and able to "to do their duty; for the future it is to be iſſued to ſuch only; "and the Adjutant-General will order a return to be ſent to the "Commiſſary, every Monday morning, of the numbers of each "regiment actually doing duty, that he may be regulated thereby "in iſſuing out the ſpirits. As the General cannot conceive that "it is poſſible that men, who have behaved ſo well in the field, "and have done ſo much honour to their country, can commit "ſuch irregularities as have lately happened, if it did not proceed "from drunkenneſs, he thinks it neceſſary to prohibit the ſuttling "any liquors whatever, and hereby recalls all licences; and any "ſoldier that is found drunk will receive twenty laſhes per day "until he owns where he got the liquor, and his allowance of "rum will be ſtopped for ſix weeks. — As Dr. Ruſſel is the beſt "judge of the ſick, and for whom he ſhall think wine ne-"ceſſary, it will be delivered out to the regiments by the Com-"miſſary, according to the quantities ordered by him, every "Tueſday morning; the Surgeons of the different corps will "receive their orders from Dr. Ruſſel: for the future one quart "of vinegar will be divided out to every ſix men, weekly; and "the Commiſſary will deliver out to the ſick, according to the "Doctor's directions."

No alteration in our weather: the detachment under Major Huſſey has taken poſſeſſion of two different poſts, which are to be fortified; the fartheſt is in the church of Lorette, about twelve miles from our garriſon; the other is in that of St. Foy, at ſomewhat better than three miles diſtance from hence; the road from Quebec to the upper country leads through theſe two villages or pariſhes, and they command a conſiderable tract of country. — This

ſcheme

ſcheme of enlarging our limits cauſes various conjectures and opinions among us: *Quot capitum vivunt, totidem ſtudiorum millia.* I will decline to give my own ſentiments upon this matter, but ſhall take the liberty to ſubſtitute thoſe of ſome moderate and reaſonable Officers in the garriſon, with whom I uſually aſſociate: 'It appears highly neceſſary, ſay they, for us to ſecure theſe two 'poſts, as by their peculiar ſituation they will not only protect the 'inhabitants of the conquered country who have ſubmitted to 'our government, but moreover we can, with greater eaſe, be ſup-'plied with freſh proviſions, without which it will be difficult for us 'to ſubſiſt; in the next place, we are aſſured by the inhabitants, 'of our acquaintance, that, by our being poſſeſſed of the country 'on this ſide of Lorette, we are ſecured in an excellent vein 'of wood in the foreſt of St. Foy, whence the garriſon, citizens, 'and convents can be ſerved with fuel for the winter, an 'article ſo eſſential that, unleſs we can have it in plenty, it will be 'utterly impracticable for us to exiſt in the winter of Canada; 'furthermore we ſhall not only be defended here from inſults, or 'attempts of the enemy, by ſurpriſe, but by our reinforcing theſe 'poſts in the evening, or at moon-light, if it ſhould be thought 'expedient, we can be inabled to beat up the enemy's quarters, 'and levy contributions, in the article of *Vivres*, through their 'diſtricts. Laſtly, we have it always in our power to ſupport 'theſe advanced detachments, or to withdraw them, by the 'aſſiſtance of proper covering parties, if at any time the Governors 'ſhall find ſuch meaſures neceſſary.' With regard to theſe opinions, I ſhall only obſerve, that we happily experienced the ſuitableneſs of them in all reſpects, throughout the intire progreſs of a rigorous winter campaign. 1759. Nov.

A general court-martial ſat this day, for the trial of ſeveral offenders; one Colonel, ſix Captains, and ſix Lieutenants compoſed the court; one of the delinquents was tried for a notorious robbery on the houſe of a French inhabitant, was found guilty, and adjudged 16th.

1759. Nov. judged to ſuffer death; the Governor approved of the ſentence, and ordered his immediate execution. For ſome days paſt we have not had more than one Serjeant and twenty men for fatigue, the corps being permitted to form their regimental magazines of proviſions in their reſpective diſtricts. Our two Governors, with an Engineer, eſcorted by a detachment of light infantry, marched out to our advanced poſts, to give directions for their being put into an excellent poſture of defence. Some men, who lately deſerted, have been retaken; and others, upon a ſuſpicion of intending to deſert, have been diſcovered; an active officious Prieſt, who is ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe of this baſe defection in our men, has thought proper to abſcond. Our detachment, that was attacked on the 11th inſtant, gave the enemy a warm reception, and obliged them to retire with ſome loſs; we had only three men wounded; unluckily the reinforcement, with the Major, had not joined, or it is probable the whole French party would have been cut off. — A Subaltern, and thirty men, who were advanced beyond Lorette, were attacked laſt night, and obliged to fall back on the main body, to prevent their being ſurrounded; the aſſailants were above an hundred; for this reaſon a farther reinforcement, under Colonel Walſh, was ordered out this evening. The general court-martial is adjourned.

18th. Divine ſervice is ordered to be performed every Sunday and Wedneſday, in the church of the Urſuline convent, at twelve o'clock. A Frenchman was hanged yeſterday, for enticing our men to deſert. The centries have directions not to ſtop cattle, or proviſions, coming into the town; nor are any of them to take notice of any thing paſſing out of the town, except thoſe centinels who are poſted at the ports and barriers leading to the country. The court re-aſſembled to-day, finiſhed, and were diſſolved; in the courſe of their proceedings it was thought neceſſary to ſecure a French Prieſt, and, as I was a member, I was accordingly detached for this purpoſe: I found him in his houſe, and arreſted him in the name of

his

his Britannic Majeſty; the poor old man was greatly terrified, and intreated me earneſtly to tell him his crime: but I made no other delay than to poſt a centinel, whom I had taken with me, in the apartment with this ancient father. One ſoldier was ſentenced to receive a thouſand laſhes, for abſenting his duty, and uſing expreſſions tending to excite *mutiny* and *deſertion*. A ſecond, for being diſguiſed, with an intention to deſert, and being out of his quarters at an undue time of night, — to receive three hundred. A third, for an intention to deſert, — one thouſand. And a fourth, for deſertion, and endeavouring to inveigle others to deſert, — *to ſuffer death*. The Governor approves of theſe ſentences, and orders that the laſt criminal be ſhot to death on Wedneſday morning next, at the grand parade, before the guards march off; but his Excellency is pleaſed to pardon the third malefactor, in conſideration of his having confeſſed the truth, and likewiſe he being an invalid by a ſhot-wound. 1759. Nov.

Upon Colonel Walſh's joining the detachment, under Major Huſſey, he is to proceed towards Point au Tremble, to attack the enemy's advanced poſts, and render their vicinity to us as diſagreeable as poſſible, in order to compel them to keep at a greater diſtance: and to burn and lay waſte ſuch pariſhes as ſhall make any oppoſition. The French ſhips are expected down this night. The clergy and inhabitants are narrowly watched, as it is ſuſpected they are the promoters of this breach of loyalty and allegiance in our infatuated ſoldiers. The Chaplains are ordered not only to officiate alternately twice a week at the Urſuline church, but likewiſe to give punctual attendance to the hoſpitals. Colonel Walſh and Major Huſſey returned late this evening; they burned a pariſh in the neighbourhood of Point au Tremble, called St. Joſeph; and laid waſte that ſide of the country, on account of the inhabitants having revolted from their oath of fidelity; ſeveral of the colony troops were killed, others made priſoners, and we had a few men only wounded. Proclamations are every-where diſperſed, and ſome are fixed up

1759. Nov. at the public parts of this city, threatening more rigorous meaſures, if the Canadians do not adhere to their engagements, and pay more reſpect to the Governor's orders and demands, in ſupplying us with proviſions, ſleigh carriages, horſes, &c. &c. and in caſe they ſhall neglect to acquaint his Excellency, when any of the enemy come down into their neighbourhood. The churches of Lorette and St. Foy are fortified, and have got two field-pieces each, with Gunners ammunition, &c. theſe poſts are ſurrounded by intrenchments, and a ſtout picquet-work, with loop-holes, for muſketry; Colonel Walſh left detachments at each of thoſe places.

19th, 20th, and 21ſt. Five Subalterns, eight Serjeants, with three hundred and fifty rank and file, have been each day employed on duties of fatigue without arms. The Treaſurer has orders to pay two men of the Royal Americans five guineas, being the reward promiſed for detecting a deſerter; and one guinea beſides, as an acknowledgement of their proper fidelity. The criminal who is under ſentence of death is reprieved, upon his having diſcovered a plot that was laid for the ſeduction of our men; on this account another Prieſt has thought proper to retire to Montreal. The old friar, whom I arreſted ſome days ago, has been ſtrictly examined; but, as nothing appeared againſt him, and in conſideration of his advanced age and inoffenſive character, he is again enlarged. Our weather is changed to a ſoft rain. Two women have been whipped through the ſtreets for ſelling rum contrary to orders. The French ſhips, which have been for ſome time expected, are at length fallen down, and are at anchor off Sillery: one of them ran a-ground at a Point a little higher up, whereupon an Officer, with a ſmall ſculking party, were ſent out ſecretly to liſten to their converſation, watch their motions, and to annoy any of their people that may attempt to land; two twelve pounders were intended to have been ſent out to attack this frigate, but that project ſeems to be poſtponed for the preſent: their boats ply frequently from ſhip to ſhip, and, by the continual noiſe

and chattering on board, our party are of opinion they are much crowded; though we are informed that many principal families are gone down the country, with their effects, in order to embark for France, after the ſhips ſhall have paſſed the town. 1759. Nov.

ORDERS.

22d. and 23d.

" Two Subalterns, &c. and two hundred men for fatigue, as " uſual. Every regiment is to form immediately a company of " light infantry, in proportion to the number of the ſaid regiment: " this company will always be drawn up on the left of the battalion, " and will conſiſt of a tenth of the corps; the grenadiers being " on the right, the eight remaining companies will form eight ſub- " diviſions, and the Officers are conſtantly to be poſted with " their own companies. Whereas ſeveral Officers have repre- " ſented, that ſome miſtakes have lately happened at the Com- " miſſary's office, in the iſſuing out proviſions to the diſadvantage " of the troops, it is ordered that every company be forthwith " provided with weights and ſcales made from thoſe of the " Purſers of either of his Majeſty's two ſloops of war here, that an " Officer of a company may ſee the proviſions weighed every " week; and, that juſtice may be done to the men, it is thought " neceſſary, once more, to repeat in orders the two different tables " of proviſions, viz.

" A Table of Proviſions, as was allowed laſt Year, for one Man for ſeven Days.

" Seven pounds of bread or flour,
" Four pounds of pork,
" Three pints of peaſe,
" Six ounces of butter,
" Half a pint of rice.

1759. Nov.

" A Table of Proviſions, to be delivered to the Garriſon by the " Governor's Orders, for one Man for ſeven Days.

" Seven pounds of bread or flour,
" Two pounds of pork, two ditto of beef,
" One pint and an half of peaſe,
" Two pints of oatmeal,
" Half a pound of butter, or one pound of cheeſe in lieu,
" Half a pint of oil,
" One pound and an half of flour, and
" Half a pound of ſuet or fruit.

" and, as it appears, by the above tables, that every ſoldier has " two pounds of proviſions more than ever was allowed in any " of the King's garriſons before, beſides the jill of rum which is " given to the men *gratis*, every Officer, Serjeant, Corporal, and " *faithful* ſoldier, is injoined to diſcover any man who ſhall pre- " ſume to complain of the ſaid allowance, that the offender may " be brought to trial for *ſedition*, and receive the puniſhment which " ſuch a notorious crime deſerves; on the other hand, if the ſoldiers " find any deficiency in the weight of their proviſions, they will be " redreſſed, upon repreſenting it to their Commanding Officer; " and the defrauder will not eſcape the Governor's reſentment, " be he who he will. The two foregoing tables to be paſted up " in every barrack-room, that the ſoldiers may know what they " are to receive: and the orders of this day to be read at the head " of each company, by an Officer, every day for a week to come, " that no man have it in his power to plead ignorance."

The French ſhips are ſtill amuſing us; they worked up with the tide of flood this morning near to Cape Rouge; two pieces of cannon, twelve-pounders, with a detachment, were in readineſs to march to the late battery at Sillery, oppoſite to the river Etchemin, in hopes

hopes of fruſtrating their intended voyage, or at leaſt of making prize of the frigate that was a-ground; but the enemy found means to lighten her before our ſcheme could be executed, whereby ſhe got off with the flood, and joined the reſt of her fleet above. 1759. Nov.

The poſts of St. Foy and Lorette are relieved this day, by a detachment of three Captains, ſix Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, three Drummers, and three hundred and twelve rank and file: theſe advanced commands are to be releaſed every fortnight; being provided with neceſſaries and proviſions for that time, according to orders; together with fifty rounds of ammunition, and three flints, per man. Our weather is again changed to froſt and ſnow, and ſeems to be ſetting in for the winter; yet the atmoſphere is perfectly ſerene, with ſun-ſhine, and very agreeable. A report prevails that a ſhip is arrived from France, and that ſhe paſſed the town a few nights ago, with an expreſs to Montreal; a pompous packet is now circulated, in conſequence of this veſſel's arrival, among the diſpirited Canadians; viz. 'that M. de Bompar, with 'eleven ſail of the line, and a reſpectable army, undertook to 'recover Guardaloupe, but that, being foiled there, they bore away 'for Chebucto Harbour, in Nova Scotia; deſtroyed the town 'of Halifax, then proceeded to Cape Breton, landed without op-'poſition, ſtormed and retook Louiſbourg, and put two thirds of the 'garriſon to the ſword.' — Moreover, 'that Monſieur de Levis has 'received ſuch ſupplies of every kind by this ſhip, with the ſtrongeſt 'aſſurances of being well ſeconded by a fleet and troops, thoſe 'under Bompar no doubt, as early in the ſpring as poſſible; that 'his Excellency, and the other French Generals, have formed a 'final reſolution of being repoſſeſſed of Quebec, by the time theſe 'ſuccours may be expected; to this end they have the greateſt 23d.

* It is certain a frigate did arrive about this time, laden with ſtores and proviſions, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter; but, in order to avoid our cruiſers below, ſhe put into Gaſpée Bay, where ſhe was compelled to remain for the winter.

1759. Nov. ‘ reliance on the ſeverity of the winter, flattering themſelves we ſhall ‘ not be able to do our duty; that then the whole force of Canada are ‘ to march down on ſnow-ſhoes, provided with a ſufficient quantity ‘ of ladders, and retake the town by *eſcalade*.’ *It muſt be confeſſed, that invention and gaſconade are among the leading characteriſtics by which our enemies are, and have been, in all ages, peculiarly diſtinguiſhed.*

ORDERS.

24th. and 25th. “ One Captain, ſix Subalterns, with Non-commiſſioned in pro- “ portion, and one hundred and ninety privates, to hold themſelves “ in readineſs to march on Tueſday morning by day-break; each “ man to be provided with fifty rounds of good cartridges, and “ three flints; they are alſo to be provided with, per man,

“ One pair of leggers,
“ One pair of ſpare ſhoes,
“ One pair of good ſpare ſtockings,
“ One warm waiſtcoat,
“ One good blanket, and
“ One pair of warm mittens.

“ This detachment to be young and active men, who are beſt able “ to undergo fatigue; the Commanding Officers are deſired to al- “ low volunteers to go, if they are fit for fatigue; and ſuch Offi- “ cers as chuſe it may go, and be allowed a duty of detachment, “ when it comes to their turn *.”

* The ſpirit of volunteering ſeems to have ceaſed with the capture of Quebec; every man is willing to do his duty, to the utmoſt of his capacity and power, when ordered; but there was not a ſingle Officer, in the whole garriſon, who offered to go, of his own accord, on this expedition.

AFTER

AFTER ORDERS.

" Each man of the detachment ordered, this morning, to be 1759. Nov.
" provided, by their own Quarter-Maſters, with fourteen pounds
" of bread, and ſeven of pork; and the Quarter-Maſter-Serjeant
" of each corps to attend, in the Palace-yard, to-morrow morning,
" at ten o'clock, to receive further neceſſaries for this command.
" The Governor being informed that ſeveral Officers have ſnow-
" ſhoes, he hopes thoſe gentlemen will give them in to the Aſſiſtant
" Deputy Quarter-Maſter General, for the uſe of the public, until
" a ſufficient number are made for the garriſon. The Commanding
" Officers of regiments will ſee, that a ſtrict ſearch is made for ſnow-
" ſhoes within their diſtricts, that they may be collected, and deliver-
" ed in to the Quarter-Maſter General. The guards, for the future,
" on Sundays and Wedneſdays, to parade at nine o'clock, and all
" the regiments are to march their men to the grand parade at ele-
" ven, whence they will march to the place of divine ſervice."

On the night of the 24th, between the hours of eleven and twelve, the French ſhips paſſed the town, with the tide of ebb, except one, which, by the weight of our fire, we drove a-ſhore on the ſouth ſide of the river; there are various reports of their numbers, but it is certain they were not more than eight, or fewer than five; they had a fine breeze of wind in their favour, which, luckily for them, freſhened, as they got a-breaſt of Cape Diamond; our batteries were prepared for them, and gave them an hundred ſhot, beſides a vaſt number of ſhells: the night being extremely dark, likewiſe, propitiated their eſcape, our Gunners having fired almoſt at random. Laſt night two deſerters came from the French army, who inform us, that the enemy are going into winter-quarters; that they are exceedingly ill off for proviſions, and it is univerſally ſurmiſed their diſtreſſes will compel them to capitulate before the winter is half elapſed; they add, that Monſieur Vaudreuil is now at Montreal, and that the Indians threaten to ſtone him to death, on account of the loſs of their capital, which

they

1759. Nov. they impute to his miſconduct. We learn, from the peaſants of ſeveral pariſhes, throughout which the French army retreated *on the memorable 13th of September*, that the ſoldiery were ſo much terrified with the apprehenſions of our detaching a diviſion of our army to purſue them, that ſuch of them as called for refreſhments would not ſtay to partake of them; moreover, that the panic was ſo univerſal, that Mr. Vaudreuil, and the Officers in general, flew through the country like arrows, or, as the people themſelves expreſſed it,—*on a fuit commune une bale du canon*, leaving the men to ſhift for themſelves. A moſt unlucky diſaſter has happened here this morning, the 25th; when the enemy abandoned their ſhip that lies ſtranded on the ſouth ſhore, they left a train of powder, from the powder-room to the fire-place of the great cabbin, with a ſlow match, and then betook themſelves, in their boats, to a ſchooner we had at anchor in the channel to watch their motions, of which they poſſeſſed themſelves; Captain Miller, of his Majeſty's ſloop the Racehorſe, with his Lieutenant, and a number of men, (it is ſaid above forty) went and boarded her; the match being extinguiſhed, Mr. Miller, not ſuſpecting the horrid ſnare, gave orders to ſtrike a light, to inable them to rummage the ſhip: when, unfortunately, ſome of the ſparks, falling on the looſe powder, caught immediately, and blew up the veſſel, ſo that moſt of the party were killed almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and the few ſurvivors are in as deplorable a condition as can be imagined. A Canadian peaſant, venturing to go aboard ſoon after the exploſion, in ſearch of plunder, as he confeſſed, to his great aſtoniſhment, (for he knew not of any living creatures being in the ſhip) diſcovered the Captain, Lieutenant, and two ſeamen, lying in the greateſt agony, and dreadfully ſcorched; finding they were ſtill alive, he went and alarmed the neighbourhood, and, having procured aſſiſtance, he brought the unhappy ſufferers, with ſix or ſeven others, whom they afterwards found, to his own houſe, where he had them rubbed with bear's greaſe, and otherwiſe manifeſted to them every act of humanity in his power: in the afternoon this

this man croſſed the river, to make his melancholy report to the Governor, (for as yet we were intirely ignorant of the matter;) and his Excellency was pleaſed to reward the Canadian for his attachment and Chriſtian-like behaviour, with twenty dollars and a quantity of ſalt proviſions. Proper conveyances were immediately ſent over for theſe diſtreſſed Officers and their men, who were removed, without loſs of time, into the hoſpital of the Urſuline convent, where they will have the beſt attendance and relief that can be deſired. The ſame detachments have been employed on duties of fatigue, on each of thoſe days, as uſual: we have had a hard froſt theſe three nights paſt, inſomuch that many of the Officers had pleaſant ſkaiting to-day, but the main river is not yet frozen over. 1759. Nov.

We have froſt, ſnow, and gentle thaws, alternately. Racks are ordered to be fixed up in all the barrack-rooms, for the mens' arms and ammunition, that they may be able to come at them without confuſion in caſe of an alarm, and ready to turn out at a moment's warning. A Serjeant of one of the regiments, who had a command of twelve men at an advanced poſt, was attacked lately by a ſuperior party of the enemy, whom he beat off, and made ſo gallant a defence, that the Governor has preſented him with five guineas, and promiſed him preferment, on condition that his Commanding Officer will recommend him for it. The light infantry companies are all ordered to be completed. The inhabitants talk, with confidence, of a ſhip being arrived from France, and of her having paſſed the town, on her way to the Three Rivers, or Montreal; they ſay, 'that, upon Admiral Durel's ſquadron being in 'poſſeſſion of the river in May laſt, this veſſel ran up the Sequen-'ny, oppoſite to Bear Iſland; and, after his fleet had paſſed the en-'trance of that river, ſhe ſlipped out, and ſailed for France with 'diſpatches; that ſhe returned again about the middle of October, 'and took her former ſtation, until aſcertained of the departure of 'our fleet for Europe: that the Maſter of her ſent his packet over 'land to M. Vaudreuil by a *coureur de bois*, and, finding, at length, 'a fa- 26th. to the 28th. incluſive.

1759. Nov. ‘ a favourable opportunity, ſhe tripped out, and whiſked by the town ‘ undiſcovered.’ Our ſtreets and paſſages are ſo ſlippery, that it is with the greateſt difficulty we can walk in them. Two women have been whipped through the town for ſelling ſpirituous liquors contrary to orders; and a Frenchman underwent the ſame puniſhment for a breach of orders. The Governor has iſſued a proclamation prohibiting the currency of French, or paper money, called *Papier d'Ordonance*, either among the troops or inhabitants; and has ſpecified the ſeveral denominations and value of ſuch monies as will be allowed currency, viz. dollars, halfs, quarters, &c. and ſterling money of England. The enemy ſet fire, laſt night, to ſome of their ſhips that were ſtranded, to prevent their falling into our hands; and, as ſoon as they burned down to their guns, they, being loaded up to their muzzles, diſcharged, which ſurpriſed us a little, not knowing the occaſion; however, we had no general alarm. The report of a veſſel having lately paſſed the town is not altogether void of foundation, but ſhe was not French; the ſchooner, which was ſeized by the crew of the frigate that was ſtranded ſome nights ago, did bruſh by the garriſon, not altogether unperceived, though unmoleſted; for our centinels ſuppoſed her to be one of our ſmall traders, which are daily paſſing and repaſſing between the iſland of Orleans and the garriſon with fire-wood: this has furniſhed the enemy with a ſufficient pretence whereon to build their boaſted packet, with their train of abſurdly fallacious inventions.

30th. Three Subalterns, &c. and three hundred men, for fatigue, yeſterday; and four Subalterns, &c. and four hundred, for the ſame duties to-day. Though it ſtill continues to freeze very intenſely, yet our weather is far from being ſevere or diſagreeable.

ORDERS.

“ Wood is to be delivered to the troops on the following days, “ and in the proportions here mentioned:

“ Field-

	Cords.	Half.	Quarter	For how many days
" Field-Officers, -	2	0	0	
" Captains, - - -	1	½	0	
" Subalterns and Staff,	0	0	¾	
" Each guard fire-place,	2	0	0	
" —— Barrack-chimney,	0	0	¾	

1759. Nov.

" the three eldeſt regiments are to be ſerved on Saturday the 1ſt of " December; the three ſecond eldeſt, on Monday the 3d; the next " three, on Tueſday the 4th; and the ſeventy-eighth, the artillery, " and Staff on the day following; a liſt of the Officers, with their " rank, and a return of the number of barrack-chimnies, are to be " ſent to the Commiſſary, by the Quarter-Maſter, the day preceed- " ing the regiments being ſerved."

Captain Miller, of the Racehorſe ſloop, died, yeſterday morning, much lamented, and was this day interred with military honours; a Field-Officer, with Captains and Subalterns in proportion, and five hundred men, attended the funeral. Our brave ſoldiers are growing ſickly; their diſorders are chiefly ſcorbutic, with fevers and dyſenteries; this is far from being ſurpriſing, when we conſider the ſevere fatigues and hardſhips they have hitherto, and ſtill unavoidably undergo, which, with indifferent cloathing, uncomfortable barracks, worſe bedding, and their being intirely confined to a ſalt proviſion diet, are ſufficient to reduce or emaciate the moſt robuſt conſtitutions, in this extremely frigid climate. The nuns of the Urſuline convent having preſented the Governor and other Officers with a ſet of croſſes of St. Andrew curiouſly worked, they were diſplayed in compliment to this day: in a corner of the field of each croſs was wrought an emblematical heart, expreſſive of that attachment and affection which every good man naturally bears to his native country. Captain Leſlie's detachment of one hundred and ninety privates, with Officers, &c. in proportion, who were ordered in

1759. Nov. readineſs on the 25th, croſſed the river, this afternoon, to Point Levi; their deſtination is to proceed down the country as far as there are ſettlements, to take the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, and to inforce the Governor's commands, reſpecting their future deportment, &c. &c.

Decemb. 1ſt. & 2d. Our weather invariably the ſame. The Lieutenant of the Race-horſe is dead, and ordered to be interred to-morrow, ſuitable to his rank. Four hundred men for fatigue on each of thoſe days. The Quarter-Maſter-General is ordered to ſend a return, every Monday morning, to the Commiſſary, of the effectives of each corps, including Officers, women, and ſervants, who are not ſoldiers, and came with the army from Louiſbourg; no French ſervants or boys, hired ſince the army took the field, will be victualled. At the bottom of all weekly returns, from which this general one is directed to be made, the number of women, with the names of ſervants and their maſters, are to be ſpecified. Fire-wood is now, and hereafter, to be iſſued regularly to the troops, purſuant to the orders for that purpoſe: hitherto we have been obliged to ſhift for it, by tearing down decayed fences and damaged houſes; theſe, with ſome habitations that were ſituated in the ſuburbs of St. Lewis and St. John, which it was thought adviſable to demoliſh, on account of their proximity to the works of the place, have hitherto ſupplied us, though very ſparingly, with that neceſſary article. The additional works of St. Rocque, and the Fauxbourg adjoining, are completed.

ORDERS.

From the 3d. to the 7th. inclusive. "Four Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and four hundred rank and file, "for fatigue, as uſual. The detachments of St. Foy and Lorette "are to be relieved to-morrow morning, and parade at eight o'clock; "one carter's ſleigh will be allowed for the Officers' baggage at St. "Foy, and two for Lorette; they will be upon the parade at the "ſame time: the detachments to receive one week's proviſions, of all "ſpecies,

1759. Decemb.

" ſpecies, from their reſpective Quarter-Maſters, except rum, which " the men are to carry with themſelves : for the former of thoſe " commands, one Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, four " Corporals, two Drummers, and one hundred privates ; for the " other, double the number of each rank ; the centries are to be " relieved every hour till farther orders. The criminal, mentioned " in the orders, under ſentence of death for deſertion, is par- " doned by the General, he having diſcovered the Prieſt who ſe- " duced him, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have him appre- " hended. As the centries on their poſts, and the ſoldiers otherwiſe " employed on the duty of the garriſon, may, from the ſeverity of " the weather at this ſeaſon of the year, be expoſed to be froſt- " bitten, Doctor Ruſſel recommends, that every perſon to whom " this accident may happen ſhould be particularly careful to avoid " going near a fire, and to have the part froſt-bitten rubbed with " ſnow by one who has a warm hand, and, as ſoon as can be, after- " wards put into a blanket, or ſomething of that kind, that will " reſtore heat to the part *. *This order to be read at the head of* " *every company for ſix days following by an Officer*. The Commanding " Officers of regiments may be ſupplied with ſkins to make ſtraps " for their mens' creepers, by applying to the Quarter-Maſter Gene- " ral. A general court-martial to ſit to-morrow, for the trial of an " Officer for neglect of duty. Two Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and " two hundred and fifty-ſix rank and file, without arms, to parade " to-morrow at eight o'clock, in order to ſleigh wood from St. Foy ; " theſe men will be allowed four ſhillings for every cord they bring

* I know, by my own experience, as well as by that of many others, that this preſcription is moſt effectual ; having frequently had my cheek-bones and the bridge of my noſe ſo frozen, reſembling a piece of ivory, as to be totally void of ſenſation. — In the more northern countries, particularly Lapland, when a perſon is froſt-bitten, they thruſt a red-hot iron into a piece of cheeſe, and, with the unctuous matter that drops from it, anoint the parts affected, which generally recover : this cheeſe is made of the milk of the rein deer, an invaluable animal in that part of the world.

" home ;

1759. Decemb. " home; that money will be paid to the Quarter-Maſters of each " regiment, weekly; and they are to keep a liſt of the mens' names " who may be employed, and pay them punctually; the Officers " who command this party will take care that the ſleighs are loaded " to the top of the ſtandards, and that none of the wood is loſt on " the road. As all the corps are now provided with powder-horns, " it is the General's orders, that none of the men load with car- " tridges upon their regimental parades, but from theſe powder- " horns; and to have wadding above and below the ball, to keep " both powder and ball firm in their pieces; the Commanding Of- " ficers of regiments will be provided with powder on applying to " Major Godwin, and giving receipts for the ſame. The court- " martial ordered for the trial of the Officer for neglect of duty is " countermanded, and that Officer is forgiven, in conſideration of the " remarkable good character the Field-Officers of the regiment in " which he ſerves have given him. The Governor is ſorry it " ſhould now be neceſſary to recommend to the young Officers to " read, with attention, the orders of the garriſon and guards; as he " was ſenſible that few of the corps of this army have had any op- " portunity of knowing garriſon-duty, he thought it incumbent on " him to be very particular in theſe orders: an exact obſervance " of them in any ſituation is what has always been expected; in " that of this garriſon it is abſolutely neceſſary, as the honour of the " nation, the ſafety and preſervation of the troops, as well as the " important conqueſt they have made, intirely depend upon it: " therefore, for the future, no neglect will be pardoned, as no ex- " cuſe can poſſibly be urged; ignorance, through inexperience, it " might, perhaps, be unjuſt to cenſure; but Officers who are ſo " from negligence and inattention are unpardonable, for it is they " who are to ſet an example to the men. For the future, the Cap- " tain of the main-guard is to go the viſiting rounds to, and of the " following guards,

" GUARDS.

1759. Decemb.

" GUARDS.
" Artillery,
" Citadel,
" Dock,
" Serjeants detached,
" Naval Officers,
" Biſhop's Palace,
" Otway's grenadiers,
" Jeſuits' college.

" The Captain of St. John's guard is conſtantly to viſit thoſe, " viz.

" GUARDS.
" Cape Diamond,
" Caſemate,
" Port St. Lewis,
" Palace,
" Magazine,
" Palace-gate.

" And the Captain of the fortified houſe to viſit the following,

" The barrier-houſe, boat-guard,
" Proviſion guards, No. 1, 2, and 3.

" It is repeated, that the Officers of guards mention, in their re- " ports, the times they received both the viſiting and grand rounds. " Thoſe regiments who ſend ſick out to the general hoſpital muſt " acquaint Dr. Ruſſel with their number, and time of ſending, " that he may give directions to have them properly accommodated, " otherwiſe they will not be received; whereas wood is now regu- " larly delivered to the troops, it is the General's orders, that no " perſon whatever pull down houſes or fences, or carry off any tim- " ber belonging to the inhabitants."

Though

1759. Decemb. Though there is little wind, and the firmament is perfectly ſerene, with ſun-ſhine, yet the bitterneſs of the ſeaſon is not to be conceived; ſeveral of the men, who were clearing the ſnow that was lodged under the ſcarp of the town-wall, were froſt-bitten, and ſome even ſwooned away with the exceſſive cold. Our artificers are now completing a chain of blockhouſes, which are to be erected upon the heights of Abraham, extending from Cape Diamond down to the ſuburbs of St. John. Captain Leſlie's detachment is detained at Point Levi church, to watch the motions of ſome ſculking parties of the enemy in that neighbourhood. Three ſoldiers of the command at St. Foy, were ſurpriſed, and made priſoners, by a body of French regulars, who came down to reconnoitre that poſt. Mr. Bernier, the French Commiſſary, who has reſided at the general hoſpital, being detected in ſome unfair practices, has received orders to rejoin his army, and not to preſume to return within the conquered country on pain of death. By the wind's ſhifting to the weſtward, the cold is leſs rigorous. The Governor being under a neceſſity of borrowing money for the uſe of the Government, ſome of the troops have aſſiſted his Excellency in this loan. The privates, as well as the Officers, of Colonel Fraſer's regiment of Highlanders, by their remarkable frugality and ſobriety, have been inabled to diſtinguiſh themſelves: the creditors are to receive legal intereſt until they are repaid. Our garriſon now undergo incredible fatigues, not only within, but alſo without the walls, being obliged to load and ſleigh home fire-wood from the foreſt of St. Foy, which is near four miles diſtant, and through ſnow of a ſurpriſing depth; eight men are allowed to each ſleigh, who are yoked to it in couples by a ſet of regular harneſs, beſides one man who guides it behind, with a long ſtout pole, to keep it clear of ruts and other obſtructions. We are told that M. de Levis is making great preparations for the long meditated effort on this place, with which we are menaced; Chriſtmas is ſaid to be the time fixed for this enterpriſe; and Monſieur ſays, 'if he ſucceeds, he ſhall be promoted to be

'*a Marſhal of France*; and, if he fails, Canada will be loſt, for 'he will give it up.' To this important purpoſe all the inhabitants of the colony, thoſe excepted who are ſubmitted to us, from the ages of ſixteen to ſixty, are ordered to be at Montreal by the 16th of this month; however, there are ſome among us who are ſo incredulous, as to pretend that theſe Quixote threats (as they call them) are only invented within our own walls, to induce the troops to be more alert and vigilant in the execution of our duty. We are informed, that our indefatigable Generaliſſimo ſtill continues, with the main of his army, in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, completing his different cantonments; this intelligence is ſaid to be brought by Captain Abercromby, one of his Excellency's Aids de Camp, who has been lately at Montreal with a flag of truce, in order to ſettle a cartel for the exchange of priſoners. Our weather is invariably the ſame, though ſomewhat more mild at preſent; this depends principally on the winds; and here, as in Nova Scotia, the north-weſters are moſt ſevere. 1759. Dec.

ORDERS.

"The Canadians have been ordered to ſleigh wood for the gar- "riſon, without whoſe aſſiſtance the troops cannot be ſupplied. "The Governor was ſurpriſed, yeſterday, at ſeeing the ſleighs ſeized "upon by the ſoldiers, for the uſe of the Officers. The orders "upon that head have been already given; the firſt perſon, there- "fore, for the future, who ſhall preſume to interrupt the public "ſervice by employing any of the carriages hired for the King, "ſhall, without mercy or diſtinction, be tried for diſobedience of "orders. Any regiments, who have Serjeants that can ſpeak French, "are deſired to ſend their names to the head quarters immediately. "One woman per regiment, from the thirty-fifth, forty-ſeventh, "forty-eighth, ſecond and third battalions of Americans, to join the "wood-cutters, as ſoon as poſſible, at St. Foy, in order to waſh for "them. From the 8th. to the 12th. both inclusive.

1759. Dec. "them. The artillery men of the different corps to do all duties "in common with their reſpective regiments until farther orders. "The ſleighing parties to carry their arms and ammunition; the "Officers to take care that the men ſling them properly, while they "are drawing their ſleighs, ſo as they may be eaſily come at, in "caſe of neceſſity."

One of our blockhouſes, being completed, is erected behind Cape Diamond, and was inhabited, the eighth inſtant, by a Serjeant, Corporal, and twelve men. We have frequent falls of drifting ſnow, which ſoften the air conſiderably. A volunteer, who was upon command at Lorette, having ventured to ride out in a ſleigh a little diſtance beyond our limits, was purſued by three ſoldiers of the *troupes de colonie*, when, perceiving he could not eſcape to his poſt, he drove away to the houſe of a militia Captain within our diſtrict, where he flattered himſelf he would have been ſafe; but they followed him thither, and made him priſoner: this affair not being properly repreſented, the Canadian Captain was arreſted; but, upon an impartial inquiry, it appearing that he was not privy, nor in any reſpect culpable, he was ſoon after releaſed, and ſent home. Three ſoldiers belonging to that advanced poſt being miſſing, it is ſuppoſed they have been ſurpriſed by, or deſerted to, the enemy. The ſickneſs among the troops does not at preſent increaſe: — this we impute to their more temperate manner of living; — yet it is ſurpriſing to ſee them bear up ſo well under their inconceivable fatigues, which they undergo with wonderful alacrity, from a juſt ſenſe of the neceſſity there is for them: it is, now-a-days, a conſolation to a ſoldier when he is ordered for guard, notwithſtanding what — he even ſuffers upon that duty, between ſtanding centry, going frequent patroles, receiving different rounds, and ſeveral other contingent ſervices in this rigorous ſeaſon, well known to the experienced Officer; hence we may form an idea of the hardſhips they are, at other times, inceſſantly expoſed to, and that this muſt continue all the winter they are well convinced of; but their daily allowance of rum contributes not a little

little to exhilarate them under their preſent harraſſing circumſtances. No alteration in the weather. The reaſon of the wood-ſleighers being ordered to take their arms is on account of ſome ſtraggling parties of the enemy's irregulars hanging about the foreſt of St. Foy, and the coppices in the road leading thereto. 1759. Dec.

ORDERS.

" One Captain, three Subalterns, nine Serjeants, four hundred " and thirty-two rank and file, to parade, to-morrow, at day-break, " to ſleigh wood for the garriſon; two Subalterns, two Serjeants " and fifty of the light infantry, to parade with the ſleighers, as a " covering party. Two Subalterns, eight Serjeants, and two hun- " dred rank and file, for other fatigue duties, to-morrow, as uſual. " The bridge and hoſpital guards to be relieved, &c. The Quar- " ter-Maſters will receive creepers for each regiment, by applying " to the Quarter-Maſter General. As the Governor has got intel- " ligence that the enemy have ſome Indians ſculking near the gar- " riſon, he takes this opportunity of acquainting both Officers and " ſoldiers, that they may not, through inadvertency, put them- " ſelves in the power of a *ſneaking cowardly enemy*, who dare not " face them when they are armed, but will watch, for ſeveral days, " to ſcalp a ſingle man that they find unarmed, or off his guard. " The Officers are deſired to pay ſtrict obſervance to the orders of " not allowing ſoldiers to paſs out of the gates without a paſſport. " The Commanding Officers of regiments will ſend in a return of " the number of rounds of cartridges in their poſſeſſion. The re- " giments will take care to provide each man, ſent to the gene- " ral hoſpital, with two ſhirts, one cap, one jacket, two pair of " ſtockings, and one good pair of ſhoes: each regiment will give " in to Dr. Ruſſel a liſt of the mens' names and companies, with " the time of their entry into the general hoſpital; they are alſo " always to return, to the Adjutant-General, the days on which 13th. 14th. and 15th.

1759. Dec. " they require their convaleſcents to be diſcharged from the gene-
" ral hoſpital. The ſleighs, fit for uſe, to be divided to the differ-
" ent regiments, as follows; and, as more are made, they will be
" iſſued out, until the regiments have as many as they can employ.

	Sleighs.
" The fifteenth,	5
" The twenty-eighth,	7
" The thirty-fifth	9
" The forty-third,	8
" The forty-ſeventh,	9
" The forty-eighth	10
" The fifty-eighth,	7
" The ſixtieth, Second battalion,	5
" The ſixtieth, Third battalion,	7
" Seventy-eighth,	12

" The regiments will not receive wood from the public ſtores for the
" future, but muſt ſupply themſelves from the ſleighs that have been
" given them; and, if any of them are broke, they muſt be re-
" paired by their own corps, and be fit for duty next day. Every
" regiment is to ſend one Subaltern, one Serjeant, and one Corpo-
" ral along with their ſleighing party; which Officer muſt be an-
" ſwerable that thoſe ſleighs are returned ſafe to the place appointed
" for that purpoſe by the Commanding Officers of the corps; one
" Captain will parade every day to command the whole. The
" ſleighing party of the whole to parade at eight o'clock, and
" continue to do ſo till farther orders; and each regiment will ſend
" one ſnow-ſhovel, in order to fill up any holes or ruts, if neceſſary."

The reader will obſerve, by the foregoing orders, that the article of fire-wood, and the manner of ſupplying ourſelves, engroſs our whole attention; likewiſe, that this ſervice is not performed by detachments from regiments, as heretofore; but by all the men

not

not actually upon duty, and even by thoſe who have been on guard the preceding day and night. A parcel of creepers are now iſſuing out of the ſtores for the uſe of the ſoldiers, for which they pay five pence per pair; (theſe inventions, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to prevent accidents by falling, have been already deſcribed in my firſt volume.) A body of two hundred Indians are ſculking about the country, between the garriſon and our moſt advanced poſt at Lorette; which is the cauſe of the Governor's precautions reſpecting the wood-ſleighers, who have a party of light infantry to cover them; and, in caſe of our being attacked, the eldeſt Field-Officer of the day is to ſally out, at the head of the main-guard, to reinforce, and command the whole. Lamps are now ſet up throughout the high and low town for the convenience of the troops. Two of the inhabitants have been whipped through the ſtreets, for appearing abroad at an unſeaſonable time of night, without a lanthorn, contrary to repeated orders. The Britiſh and French merchants and ſhopkeepers have waited on Colonel Young, as Juſtice of the Police, purſuant to directions for that purpoſe, in order to fix a price on all ſorts of commodities, liquors, and proviſions; notice whereof is given to the citizens and country-people. This, it is hoped, will prevent monopolies, and other groſs impoſitions upon the the troops and inhabitants. At preſent we are tolerably well ſupplied with freſh proviſions, (I mean the Officers;) which, however, except the articles of beavers, hares, partridges, and other game, are very indifferent in their kinds. The weather is now become inconceivably ſevere, and our ſoldiers grow numerous in the hoſpitals; ſome, who died within theſe few days, are laid in the ſnow until the ſpring, the ground being, at this time, impenetrably bound up with froſt. Our ſeveral duties, and all other affairs, have been ſo admirably well adjuſted, that every thing is now conducted and executed with great order and regularity, and as much eaſe to the troops as the nature of the ſervice in this inclement ſeaſon will permit. 1759. Dec.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

1759. Dec. From the 16th. to the 21st.

" The ſleighing parties, for the future, are not to march until " ten o'clock; they will proceed directly from their own regimen- " tal parades to the wood, where the Officers will receive their " orders from the Captain of the covering party; which laſt will " parade, at half after nine, on the inſide of Port St. Lewis. The " general court-martial, whereof Colonel Walſh was Preſident, is " diſſolved: the four delinquents, mentioned by name in the orders, " tried for quitting their poſts, breaking open and robbing the " King's ſtores, have been found guilty; two of them adjudged to " ſuffer death, the other two to receive one thouſand laſhes each. " Another, alſo named, tried for impoſing on the French inhabi- " tants, and making uſe of the Governor's name, without his au- " thority, to force from them their effects, was found guilty, and " adjudged to receive eight hundred laſhes, and to refund the ſums " due to the inhabitants. The Governor approves of theſe ſeve- " ral ſentences; but, in conſideration of the extreme ſeverity of " the ſeaſon, his Excellency is pleaſed to remit the corporal pu- " niſhment to three hundred laſhes each. As it depends intirely " upon the mens' being well or ill cloathed whether they are froſt- " bitten or not, the General leaves that to the Commanding Officers " of regiments, who are alſo to judge, whether or not, if the " weather is fit to ſend the ſleighs out. The men will be paid " five ſhillings per cord for the wood they bring in for the future. " The detachments at Lorette, St. Foy, Bridge and General Hoſ- " pitals, are ordered to be relieved on the days and hours appoint- " ed, as uſual. — The Officers of the covering and ſleighing parties " to be anſwerable, that their men commit no abuſes upon the in- " habitants, by pulling down their houſes or fences; and any man, " that is detected in any ſuch offence, will be puniſhed for diſobe- " dience of orders. The Commanding Officers of regiments may " have

" have ſtraw to ſtuff their mens' *paillaſſes* *, by applying to " the Quarter-Maſter-General. Any time after Tueſday next, " every regiment to light the lamps in their own diſtricts, and " apply to the Quarter-Maſter-General for oil and cotton, to " whom they are to give in a return of the number of lamps " within their diſtricts, which muſt be very exact." 1759. Dec.

We are ſometimes interrupted in our ſleighing parties by the ſeverity of the weather, which happened particularly on this day, and indeed the rigour of it is not to be conceived; nevertheleſs it is quite ſerene over head, and the ſun, though its rays convey little or no warmth, is exceedingly bright, which is generally the caſe at this ſeaſon, in this country, except when it ſets in for ſnow, and that ſeldom continues above twenty-four hours. 16th.

Two Subalterns, four Serjeants, and two hundred men, are employed in ſundry fatigues, within the walls, on each of thoſe days; and the reſt of the garriſon off duty in ſleighing wood, when the weather permits. M. Vaudreuil and M. de Levis have, by ſome means or other, received intelligence of the ſucceſs of our arms, with thoſe of the magnanimous King of Pruſſia, in Germany; and likewiſe of the victory gained by Admiral Boſcawen over the French fleet off Cape Lagos; events which it is not a little ſurpriſing they will allow to tranſpire among their forces and the inhabitants of this country. We are informed that M. de Bougainville returned to Europe, in the ſquadron which lately paſſed the town, in order to repreſent to their Miniſtry the expiring ſtate of Canada. Our guards, on the grand parade, make a moſt groteſque appearance in their different dreſſes; and our inventions to guard us againſt the extreme rigour of this climate are various beyond imagination: the uniformity, as well as nicety, of the clean, methodical ſoldier, is buried in the rough fur-wrought garb of the frozen Laplander;

* *Paillaſſe*, pronounced *palliaſs*, is a French word, adopted and uſed in our language by the military; it implies a canvaſs, or ſail-cloth, bed-caſe, ſtuffed with ſtraw, literally a ſtraw-bed.

and

1759. Decemb. and we rather reſemble a maſquerade than a body of regular troops; inſomuch that I have frequently been accoſted by my acquaintances, who, though familiar their voices were to me, I could not diſcover or conceive who they were; beſides, every man ſeems to be in a continual hurry; for, inſtead of walking ſoberly through the ſtreets, we are obliged to obſerve a running or trotting pace. Yet, notwithſtanding all our precautions, ſeveral men and Officers have ſuffered by the intenſeneſs of the cold, being froſt-bitten in their faces, hands, feet, and other parts leaſt to be ſuſpected. — Some of the guards being reduced for the eaſe of the troops, the detail at preſent ſtands thus: 'four Captains, ſeventeen Subalterns, thirty-ſeven 'Serjeants, thirty-two Corporals, twenty Drummers, and five 'hundred and ninety-eight privates:' which differs from the ſtate of the guards, on the fifth ultimo, by two hundred and fifty-ſeven, all ranks included; this however does not comprehend the guards at the general hoſpital and bridge over St. Charles, or the advanced detachments. The two men, who were condemned to die for robbery, have thrown dice for life, the Governor having been generouſly pleaſed to pardon one of them; eleven was the lucky number, which fell to the lot of a ſoldier of the forty-third regiment, who, it was remarked, did not diſcover the leaſt ſatisfaction upon the occaſion, either by his complexion or otherwiſe: the other poor fellow was inſtantly executed, and behaved quite undaunted, though with great decency. The detachment, that has been down the ſouth country, is returned to Point Levi, whence the Commanding Officer has apprized the Governor of Captain St. Martin, a French regular and famous enterpriſer, being in that neighbourhood, with a body of five hundred men of all kinds; and that he has received intelligence of their intention to attack him there this night. The General immediately ſent him orders 'to poſſeſs 'himſelf of the church and Prieſt's houſe, and to defend them 'to the laſt extremity; that, in caſe the enemy ſhould prove more 'obſtinate than uſual, his Excellency would ſend him a field-piece, 'with

'with a reinforcement; for which purpoſe the guard on the 'citadel of Cape Diamond have received commands to be very 'attentive to that quarter.' A great ſtorm of wind and ſnow this night. 1759. Decemb.

Beacons are now erected along the road from the garriſon to the foreſt of St. Foy, which were extremely neceſſary, as the whole country is covered, to the depth of ſeveral feet, with ſnow; the ſoldiers and Canadians are ordered not to remove thoſe marks, on pain of ſevere puniſhment. The light infantry being reſerved for a particular ſervice, it is directed that they ſhall not be ſent on any out-commands for the future. The detachment under Captain Leſlie are to return from Point Levi to their quarters this evening. It is given in charge to the Officers that they are not to employ or hire any ſleighs belonging to the inhabitants, unleſs they are impowered by the Adjutant-General, or Secretary to the Governor. The 22d inſtant is the night fixed for the execution of M. de Levis's grand enterpriſe, he being determined to dine under a French flag in Quebec, on or before Chriſtmas-day. The detachment from the ſouth country being arrived, all their ſnow-ſhoes, with their appurtenances, viz. mogoſans, ſtraps, packſtrings, and ſocks, are ordered to be returned into the ſtores. The guard-houſes are all provided with ſtoves, which are a moſt incomparable invention, particularly well calculated for this northern climate, and far exceeding thoſe uſed in the Netherlands*: the chimnies in thoſe places are ordered to be ſhut up, whereby the heat, being cloſe confined in the apartment, renders it much more comfortable to its inhabitants. The manner by which the people ſupply themſelves with fiſh, at this ſeaſon, is deſerving of notice. A hole or well is made in the ice, about eight or ten inches 22d. to the 31ſt. inclusive.

* They are of caſt iron, the manufacture of this country, there being an excellent foundery at the Three Rivers, which is about half-way between Quebec and Montreal.

1759. Decemb. diameter; there the fiſh gather, in great numbers, for air, as ſome conceive; and others are of opinion it is for light. The perſon then amuſes them by throwing down crumbs of bread, entrails of fowl, &c. and, while the fiſh are greedily employed in feeding, he ſlips down a black hair gin, tied to a ſhort ſtick; and, guiding it round one at a time, he draws it out of its element with a ſudden jirk, and thus repeats it, as long as his frigid ſituation will permit him to continue on the ice; before his departure, he lays a broad ſtone over the well, to render the air or light leſs familiar to the inhabitants of theſe aqueous regions, of which there are an inconceivable variety, of different ſizes, from that of a ſprat to a herring, of divers colours, and moſt delicious to eat, fried or ſtewed. We find the mogoſan, with a double frize ſock, much warmer, and in all reſpects more conſentaneous to this country in winter, than a thick, hard, or ſtubborn ſoled ſhoe. A Surgeon's Mate, of the thirty-fifth regiment, who has been ill for ſome time paſt of a malignant fever, has paid the debt of nature. The Commanding Officers of regiments are deſired to make their light infantry practiſe walking on ſnow-ſhoes, preparatory to the ſervice for which they are reſerved; to this end five pair of theſe rackets are delivered to each corps, and the Officers of the light-armed companies are to be anſwerable that they are neither loſt nor broken: ſome of Captain Hazen's New-England Rangers are appointed to inſtruct our ſoldiers in the uſe of them. Chriſtmas-day is at length come round, and M. de Levis has not fulfilled his promiſe of dining with us, as he affected he had reſolved to do: this grand feſtival was duly obſerved by the Chaplains of the garriſon to a numerous congregation, as in England. I cannot omit taking notice of an incident that happened here yeſterday: paſſing in the evening through one of the ſtreets, before it was dark, I met a crowd of French people, of both ſexes, with ſtaves and lanthorns, and ſeemingly in great haſte; upon inquiry I found it

was

was one of the Popiſh ceremonies. Theſe deluded creatures were going in queſt of Barrabbas the robber, who was releaſed at the crucifixion of the Saviour of the world; and, having, after a long ſearch, diſcovered a man who was to perſonate him, being concealed for that purpoſe, they bound him like a thief, and whipped him before them, with ſhouts and menaces, until they arrived at one of their churches, where it was pretended he was to ſuffer as Chriſt did, in commemoration of *His paſſion*. 1759. Decemb.

The Officers cannot now command a ſervant, if he is a ſoldier; every man being engaged in the wooding parties. A deſerter is come in from the enemy, who declares that mere neceſſity has drove him to this extremity, for that they have no kind of proviſions, except bread, of which every man receives one pound, per day, with water; as he brought no intelligence, he was ſent over to Point Levi, with directions to go where he pleaſed. The anniverſary of St. John was duly obſerved by the ſeveral lodges of Free Maſons in this garriſon. Notwithſtanding all imaginable attention is paid to the preſervation of the ſoldiers' health, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of ſuch as are in the hoſpitals, yet they daily grow ſickly, and the utmoſt ſkill of the Surgeons is too frequently fruſtrated. The people of this country, in the autumn, make large pits in their different burying-places, wherein to lay ſuch as may happen to die in the ſpace of the winter, it being impracticable to break ground in that ſeaſon; and, as I have obſerved before, the corpſe is preſerved under ſnow until the ſpring, when they are properly interred. It is very remarkable that, though extremely ſevere as it is at this time, and even ſurpaſſing any deſcription that I can give of our weather, there is a hawthorn-tree *

* The hawthorn-tree, in Canada, is curious at any ſeaſon; its leaf reſembles that of our gooſeberry, and its fruit is almoſt as large as our cherry, with four ſtones in it, and never leſs than three; the how has alſo a much richer flavour than thoſe we uſually meet with in Europe.

1759. Decemb. in the town which has ſhot forth new leaves within this week, to the admiration of all men; the inhabitants ſay they never obſerved or heard of ſuch a phænomenon before, and flatter themſelves it is a preſage of a glorious revolution in their affairs; by this they would imply the recovery of Quebec, and their former government, which they hope will be effected in the commencement of the new year. For theſe three days and nights ſucceſſively, we have had a violent ſnow-ſtorm, with a high wind, at S. E. it is rare to ſee a fall of ſnow continue ſo long together. Our ſoldiers make great progreſs in walking on ſnow-ſhoes, but men, not accuſtomed to them, find them very fatiguing. Theſe inventions are made of hoops of hickery, or other tough wood, bended to a particular form, round before; and the two extremities of the hoop terminate in a point behind, ſecured well together with ſtrong twine; the inward ſpace is worked, like cloſe netting, with cat-gut, or the dried entrails of other animals. Each racket is from three quarters to one yard in length. At the broadeſt part, which is about the center, where it is faſtened by thongs and ſtraps to the perſon's foot, it is about fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen inches; a light lively man does not require them ſo large as he who is more corpulent and leſs active; the hard-ſoled ſhoe is not at all ſuitable to them; they muſt be uſed under mogoſans, as well, for the ſake of the wearer's feet, to keep them warm and preſerve them from the ſnow, as that they will not bind on ſo well, nor be ſo ſoon worn out. The uncouth attitude, in which men are obliged to walk, is what renders them laborious; the body muſt incline forward, the knees bend, ancles and inſtep remain ſtiff as if the joints in thoſe parts were completely offified, and the feet at a great diſtance aſunder; by this deſcription, which is the beſt I can give, the reader may form to himſelf a lively idea of the ſnow-ſhoes, or ſnow-rackets, ſo frequently mentioned in the courſe of this Journal, and the uſe of them; the boys in Canada have them ſuited to their own ſize, and walk on them for exerciſe, and as one of their winter ſports; the heavieſt

heavieſt man whatever, with a pair of them, may walk on ſnow that would take him to his neck, and ſhall not ſink above an inch and an half, or two inches: light men, who are accuſtomed to them, leave barely their impreſſion behind them. This invention, which I have delineated, ſeems to be a great improvement upon the kind uſed by the Ruſſians and Calmuc Tartars in Siberia; one of their travellers thus deſcribes them: — 'They are made of a very thin piece of light wood, 'about five feet long, and five or ſix inches broad, inclining to a 'point before, and ſquare behind; in the middle is fixed a thong, 'through which the feet are put: on theſe ſhoes a perſon may walk 'over the deepeſt ſnow; for a man's weight will not ſink him 'above an inch; theſe, however, can only be uſed on plains. They 'have a different ſort for aſcending hills, with the ſkins of ſeals 'glued to their boards, having the hair inclined backwards, which 'prevents the ſliding of the ſhoes, ſo that they can aſcend a hill very 'eaſily; and, in deſcending, they ſlide downwards at a great rate.' In America they have only one kind of ſnow-ſhoe, both for hill and dale, and, by their central part being worked, as I have obſerved before, racket-faſhion, they cannot ſlip backward or forward, in going up or down a precipice; beſides, a board ſeems to be a rude diſcovery; for, when the ſnow clots to the under parts, it muſt render them heavy and troubleſome; and I am inclined to think the tightneſs, that ſeems requiſite in faſtening on a boarded ſhoe of ſuch an unweildy length, muſt incommode the foot conſiderably; whereas the rackets are ſecured with ſuch freedom and eaſe to the feet, that the muſcles and ſinews are not confined, neither is the circulation of the blood interrupted; a circumſtance deſerving of the higheſt attention in all frozen climates. 1759. Decemb.

An Officer, with a few rangers, were detached, ſome days ago, expreſs to the Commander in Chief, with a report of the preſent ſtate of our garriſon, the mortality among the ſoldiers, and the repeated menaces of the enemy.

'One

1760. January, from the 1st. to the 6th.

'One Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, four Corporals, two Drummers, and one hundred privates, to parade to-morrow, at nine o'clock, at the Jeſuits' college, provided with three flints, fifty rounds of cartridges, and one week's proviſions per man. The General expects, that the Officers, who conduct their regimental ſleighs, will march at the head of them, to avoid confuſion with other regiments. The mogoſans which have been delivered to the Quarter-Maſters, are to be iſſued to the men immediately, as they are only uſeful in the froſt, and were provided with a view, not only to prevent the ſoldiers being froſtbitten, but to ſave their ſhoes; it is therefore expected that no ſoldier parade for the future without them, for any duty whatſoever; ſome ſocks have been iſſued from the ſtores, but it will be neceſſary for the regiments to provide more; ſkins for thongs will be delivered, upon application to the Quarter-Maſter-General. The ſleighs are, for the future, to keep the right hand ſide of the road, and are to load from the magazine of wood near Lieutenant Warburton's quarters at St. Foy, where it will be iſſued according to the regulations already given in orders. The General deſires the Officers of the army will ſend in to Colonel Young, on Monday morning next, an account of all the things they have bought, either from Engliſh or French merchants, which are not yet paid for, in order that he may ſettle the prices. The ſleighs are to go out by St. John's gate, and the covering party to be there at the uſual hour; the Quarter-Maſters of all the corps to attend Mr. Barron at the fartheſt magazine of wood, at ten o'clock to-morrow. Two Captains, ten Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and ſix hundred rank and file, to parade, to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, without arms, for fatigue; Engineers will be there to conduct them. Thoſe men, who have been pitched on as wood-cutters, need not be ſent until farther orders. The regiments are deſired to ſend every man off duty to bring in wood from the nigheſt magazine, and to go out by the road leading from Port St. Lewis.'

We

We have variety of weather at this time; ſome days it is mild and pleaſant, at others cold and windy, with drifts of ſnow, and frequent ſhowers of hail, liquid and freezing rain: we have had forty-eight hours ſo inconceivably ſevere, that, notwithſtanding our diſtreſs for fuel, the ſleighing parties could not ſtir out; the town, juſt now, is one intire ſheet of ice, inſomuch that, being to mount guard in the lower town, I found it impoſſible to get down the precipice with ſafety, and we were therefore obliged to ſit down on the ſummit, and ſlide to the bottom, one after the other, to prevent accidents, the mens' arms being loaded. A magazine of wood is now forming on the heights of Abraham, and is ſupplied by horſe-ſleighs: in a few days the garriſon will be inabled to draw from thence, which being ſo near, and the ſoldiers being excuſed taking their arms, they will be able to make two turns per day, a circumſtance that affords general ſatisfaction. The men grow more unhealthy as the winter advances, and ſcarce a day paſſes without two or three funerals; though ſeveral do recover, yet the hoſpitals ſtill continue full: it is, indeed, melancholy to ſee ſuch havock among our brave fellows, and their daily ſufferings diſtreſs the Officers beyond expreſſion. The detachment of ſix hundred, with the Officers and Engineers, are employed in clearing the defences on the outſide and within, opening communications, and throwing up parapets in the different avenues: theſe new works are compoſed of ſpare dry caſks, filled with ſnow well rammed down; and are ſuppoſed to be an excellent cover againſt muſketry. 1760. January.

The Commanding Officers of regiments, corps, and companies of light infantry, are ordered to meet the General at his quarters to-morrow, on the 8th, at ten o'clock. The troops are now directed to ſleigh wood from the nigheſt magazine; the like detachment of ſix hundred, with the Engineers, are employed on each of thoſe days as before. M. de Levis's menaces begin to be thought of with much more ſerioufneſs than heretofore. A French Officer, who is priſoner, has been ſome time at Montreal on his parole, and is now From the 7th. to the 10th. inclufive.

1760. January. returned to this town: this gentleman brought a very polite letter from M. Vaudreuil to the Governor, accompanied with a parcel of New-York gazettes. An Engineer is ſent out to our advanced poſts, to render them ſtill more reſpectable by the addition of farther works. The light infantry are ordered to do no more duties of fatigue, and to practiſe walking on ſnow-rackets from morning until evening. We have withdrawn our poſt from the redoubt which covered the bridge over the river St. Charles, ſpiked the guns, and beat off their trunnions, as they were not worth being removed. M. de Levis has poſtponed his deſign of retaking Quebec from Chriſtmas to the 20th inſtant, when he is to come down with a parcel of mortars, firſt to bombard the town, and endeavour to burn the Jeſuits' college, knowing we have made it our grand repoſitory of proviſions; after which he ſuppoſes he ſhall find little difficulty in ſtorming the place; and, for this purpoſe, he will only conduct the flower of his army againſt us, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand regulars, including ſelect bodies of *grenadiers de France*, and other ſuperfine fellows, choſen from the moſt experienced and approved Canadians. It is whimſical enough to ſee what ſervitude is exacted even from the dogs in this country; in the winter, one of theſe animals, ſeemingly of the Newfoundland breed *, naturally ſtrong, and nearly in ſize to a well-grown ſheep, is yoked, by a regular ſet of harneſs, to a ſleigh ſuitable to his bulk and ſtrength, on which they draw wood, water, &c. and, when employed in this manner, may be ſaid to reſemble horſes in miniature: I have ſeen one of theſe creatures draw a caſk of water from fifteen to twenty gallons, or an equal weight of wood, from one extremity of the lower town to the upper, which is a conſtant aſcent; when he is tired, he caſts a piteous ſignificant look towards the driver, who underſtands the

* I would not be underſtood to confine all the canine ſpecies throughout Canada to this breed alone, for they have of every kind, large and ſmall, of the ordinary caſt, as in other countries; but this ſort ſeems to be more general, on account of the ſervices which they are able to perform, particularly at this ſeaſon.

ſignal;

1760. January.

ſignal; and, if it is on the pinch of a hill, the man places his foot, or ſomething elſe, behind the ſleigh, to prevent its running backward; which the dog immediately perceiving, and not before, lies down in his harneſs for a few minutes to reſt; at other times, he will whimper under his load when he wants to be refreſhed, particularly if his driver is not attentive to him; and then he is ſure to be indulged *. In paſſing through the ſtreets yeſterday, as our ſoldiers were drawing, in like manner, their loaded ſleighs from the magazine of wood, they met two dogs alſo under their drudgery; ſome of the men commiſerated the poor animals, and others merrily called them by the epithets of comrade, yoke-mate, brother hack, &c. aſking them what allowance of pork and rum they got per day? with many other pleaſantries, which they concluded by inviting the peaſant and his dogs to dine with them, telling the man where their barrack was, and the number of their meſs. — I was in company when theſe circumſtances were mentioned in the preſence of the Governor, who, though he expreſſed himſelf like a tender parent towards his brave ſoldiers for their immenſe, yet unavoidable, hardſhips, could not forbear laughing at their humour, and admiring the alacrity and ſteadineſs diſplayed by the poor fellows in this rigorous climate, and their very laborious ſituation; it muſt indeed be confeſſed they have an uncommon ſhare of merit, for, inſtead of grumblings and diſcontents at their repeated toils, the harraſſed life they lead, the want of pay, from which they might derive many comforts and refreſhments under their preſent exigences,— they contentedly and chearfully ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, exerting *all the man*, and the good ſoldier, upon every occaſion; which excites ſtill greater admiration in us, when we reflect upon

* In ſome of the Ruſſian territories, and, if I miſtake not, it is at Tobolſki, the capital of Siberia, the ordinary method of travelling, during the winter ſeaſon, is in ſleigh-carriages; to one of which they yoke a pair of dogs, who will draw a load of three hundred pounds weight with ſurpriſing expedition.

1760. January. the many different diſpoſitions and multifarious humours of ſuch a body of men as generally compoſe the privates of an army. The weather we had on the 8th and 9th exceeds every thing we have yet ſeen or felt, for ſeverity: with a high wind and a ſtorm of thick drifting ſnow, through which a perſon can ſcarcely walk, nor can he ſee ten yards before him. On the 10th, it was moderate with ſun-ſhine, and the depth of the ſnow is not to be conceived; inſomuch that detachments are again employed to clear the works and communications throughout the town. A Frenchman arrived, to-day, from Montreal, who was formerly an inhabitant of this city, and, inſtead of waiting on the Governor, endeavoured to conceal himſelf in the houſe of a friend; for which they are both confined in ſeparate priſons, and are threatened to be treated with rigour.

ORDERS.

From the 11th. to the 15th. inclusive. "When any of the regiments have brought in all their wood "meaſured to them by Mr. Barron, they are to apply to the Quar-"ter-Maſter-General to have more meaſured out for them, other-"wiſe they will not be allowed to take any, and their ſleighs will "be obliged to return empty. The Commanding Officers of regi-"ments and corps will make the Officers, who command the "ſleighing parties, anſwerable that they do not take wood from any "pile but their own; and every regiment will ſend a Serjeant to "the pile before the ſleighs go out, to prevent confuſion, and hin-"der their wood from being carried away by other corps. The re-"giments to ſend in returns to-morrow, at orderly time, of the "number of cartridges in their poſſeſſion fit for ſervice, and the "number wanted to complete them, according to the general or-"ders; they are alſo to ſend to the artillery immediately all their "ſpare ball and damaged cartridges. A return to-morrow, at "orderly time, to be given in of the number of Officers in each "corps,

" corps, excluſive of the Staff of the garriſon; and the number of fire- 1760.
" places and ſtoves occupied in the mens' barracks. Whereas January.
" complaint has been made to the General, from the hoſpitals, that
" the full quantity of proviſions, for the ſick under their care, have
" not been delivered to them: the Quarter-Maſters of the different
" regiments, for the future, are to be preſent themſelves at the de-
" livering of thoſe proviſions, and muſt be anſwerable that there is
" no impoſition. The Governor being informed that the oil is diſ-
" agreeable to the ſoldiers, he has ordered the Commiſſary to iſſue
" a pint of peaſe or oatmeal in lieu thereof. No houſes whatever
" are to be taken down but by the working parties. Two Cap-
" tains, four Subalterns, eight Serjeants, four Drummers, and two
" hundred and eight rank and file, to parade to-morrow at nine
" o'clock; each man to have fifty rounds of ammunition, two flints,
" and one week's proviſions."

" A PROCLAMATION by his Excellency JAMES
" MURRAY, Eſq; Brigadier-General, and Commander in
" Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in the River St. Lawrence,
" Governor of Quebec, and the conquered Countries, &c. &c.

" Whereas, I have thought proper, for the benefit of his Ma-
" jeſty's Britiſh and Canadian ſubjects, to fix a price upon corn and
" flour, and it becomes requiſite to do the ſame upon bread and
" meat, which have been hitherto ſold at exorbitant prices; for
" this purpoſe the following regulations are made, and I do hereby
" ſtrictly command the due obſervance of them: All Britiſh butchers
" and bakers, who deſign to follow the ſaid occupations, are to take
" out a licence for the ſame from the Secretary; and any, who
" ſhall pretend to exerciſe the ſaid trades without licence firſt had
" and obtained, ſhall, for the firſt offence, be fined five pounds;
" and, for the ſecond, beſides the ſaid fine, ſhall be impriſoned:
" the whole of which ſaid fines to be paid to the informer. The

1760. January. "price of bread, being of proper weight, and well baked, as "follows:

"BREAD	Per lb.
"White, - - -	Five pence,
"Middling ſort, -	Four pence,
"Brown, - - -	Three pence.

"Butcher's meat as follows:

"MEAT	Per lb.
"Beef, - - -	Five pence,
"Mutton, - - -	Six pence,
"Veal - - - - -	Six pence,
"Pork, - - - -	Four pence.

"And I do hereby injoin all butchers and bakers to conform "exactly to theſe regulations, on pain of incurring the ſame penal- "ties as if they had not taken out a proper licence. Given under "my hand and ſeal, at Quebec, this 15th day of January, 1760.

"By his Excellency's command, H. T. Cr.

"JAMES MURRAY."

Two hundred men, with Officers and Non-commiſſioned in proportion, have been employed, each of theſe days reſpectively, on different fatigues; and all the reſt off duty were engaged at wood-ſleighing. We are pulling down the remainder of the houſes which ſtood in the ſuburbs of St. John and St. Lewis, as they were thought to incommode the works, particularly the flank-fires; and obſtructed the view of the centinels round the line. Some Frenchmen are taken up on ſuſpicion of illegal practices, being charged with inticing ſmiths and carpenters, from among the ſoldiery, to deſert, with a promiſe of ten livres per day to each of theſe artificers, and a more conſiderable reward to any of them who ſhould conſtruct a ſleigh-

carriage

carriage for cannon. A quantity of merchandiſes and liquors have been diſcovered among the ruins of ſome ſtore-houſes in the lower town, ſaid to be the property of a merchant at Montreal, who formerly reſided here; theſe effects are to be confiſcated, the proprietor having thought fit to prefer a French to a Britiſh government; ſome arms and ammunition are alſo found among them. We talk now of fortifying a wind-mill advantageouſly ſituated on the heights of Abraham, ſurrounding it with a breaſt-work, and mounting two pieces of cannon therein, with a Subaltern's command. A Frenchman is taken up for walking round our batteries; and others are apprehended and confined in ſeparate priſons, on ſuſpicion of ſending intelligence to, and correſponding with, the enemy. An ordinance is publiſhed to prohibit the vending, carrying, conveying, or exporting any merchandiſe, liquor, or effects of any kind, from the garriſon; and charging the inhabitants, on pain of death, not to write, tranſmit, or even receive, any letters to or from the country, but ſuch as the Governor ſhall have the peruſal of. Lieutenant Butler, of the rangers, who was detached at Chriſtmas, with a party of his own corps, to croſs the country to New-York, are returned; they could not proſecute their journey, being cloſely purſued by a body of two hundred Indians for three days, and had no other way to eſcape, but by taking a different route; in which they were favoured by a great fall of ſnow that covered their tracks, and thereby inabled them to effectuate their retreat to this fortreſs without any moleſtation. The diſcoveries, made in the ruins of the warehouſes in the lower town, are ſaid to have been the property of the French King's Vice-Treaſurer, and are ſo conſiderable, that it is expected they will greatly contribute to lighten the expences of Government in the ſupport of the garriſon, during this ſevere winter's campaign. Our weather various, and on ſome days much more rigorous than others, with high winds, ſnow, or freezing rain, alternately.

1760. January.

ORDERS.

ORDERS.

1760. January 16th. to the 20th.

" The parties for wood are to parade with their ſleighs every " morning at ten o'clock, and are to be eſcorted by the Captain " commanding the covering party to the magazine of wood; the " Captain will receive his orders from the Quarter-Maſter-General, " and will be anſwerable that all the parties return carefully to " town, and that his eſcort brings up the rear. No regiment is " for the future to ſend for wood but once a day, and under cover " of the party with arms; the Officers will be anſwerable that " their men do not take wood from any pile but that which is " meaſured for their reſpective regiments: as frequent irregularities " have been committed, it is expected the like will not happen " again, as they can only proceed from negligence and contempt " of orders. The ſleighing and covering parties are to parade " for the future on the inſide of Port St. Lewis, at eleven o'clock; " the former are ordered to carry their arms with them till farther " orders. The regiments will receive more ſnow-ſhoes for their " light infantry by applying to the Quarter-Maſter-General."

We have received intelligence that the enemy have brought ſome ſmall field artillery down to Jacques Cartiers. Our artificers are conſtructing ſleigh carriages for the ſervice of cohorns, and guns of ſix and twelve pounders. Upon a difference, we are informed, that has lately happened between M. Vaudreuil and M. de Levis, the former declared, — 'If the other ſhould decline the long pro-' jected ſcheme of ſtorming this garriſon, he, the Marquis, will ' execute the enterpriſe at the head of his brave Canadians.' (This is high *gaſconade*, but there is nothing like putting a good face on the matter.) For this purpoſe they have erected walls of ſnow, fixed their ladders againſt them, and are daily practiſing an *eſcalade*, to the great amuſement of the women and children, who flock from

from all the neighbouring parishes to see their gallant performances. The sleighing parties being again ordered to take their arms out with them is occasioned by the enemy's detaching some scouting savages, and others, to annoy them. The regulations, respecting the prices of corn, bread, and meat, may be advantageous to us hereafter; but, at present, there is no flour or grain to be got, and what provisions we are supplied with can only be procured, in the way of traffic, by exchanging salt for fresh. The inhabitants, and some of the troops who have acquired the method, take great quantities of fish on the river, through holes made in the ice, as before described; they are of various kinds, particularly small codlings, roaches, plaice, smelts, and the *poisson d'or*, or gold fish, so universally admired in Europe, which is of different sizes from a sprat upwards, I am told, to the length of fifteen inches: but I have never seen any so large. A Frenchman, who dined some days ago at the mess to which I belong, gave us a most elaborate dissertation upon the sundry kinds of fish abounding in the river St. Lawrence, and the other rivers, bays, and harbours throughout the colony, the province of Acadia, and the stupendous lakes of Canada; he said he never saw any in such plenty and perfection as in this country; particularly their salmon, and a species of trouts peculiar to the lakes, which he called *truites saumonèes*, and are equally red and firm as salmon: whether he exaggerated or not, when he declared he had seen some that measured five feet in length, and weighed upwards of fifty pounds, I will not take upon me to determine, because it is possible; and, if I am not mistaken, they have, in some of the lakes in Ireland *, trouts, of an uncommon length and thickness, with all the properties of salmon. This entertaining gentleman, at my request, 1760. January.

* Particularly in the county of Galway. And, if I am rightly informed, they are to be met with in most of the lakes and rivers in Scotland.

favoured

1760. January. favoured me with the following liſt of the principal fiſh inhabiting this excellent river, from its gulph up to the lakes.

Salmon,
Eels,
Baſs, or Baſe,
Mackarel,
Guſperot,
Herrings,
Poiſſon d'or, or Gold-fiſh,
Chad,
Cod, of which there are ſeveral ſpecies,
Haddock,
Pike,
Turbot,
Hallibut,
Plaice,
Lamprey,
Sprat,
Perch,
Ray, or Thornback,
A particular ſpecies of Tench,
Congar, or Conger,
Smelt,
Roach.

A great variety of ſmall whales, particularly the *ſoufleur*, ſo called from his blowing or ſquirting the water, after diving, as whales do, through a hole behind his head; it is of a blackiſh colour. Porpuſſes, dolphins, and ſea-cows innumerable.

Their ſhell-fiſh are ſmall lobſters, crabs and oyſters, cockles, winkles and muſcles, larger and finer-flavoured than in Europe: but

but theſe latter are ſo coated with a pearly kind of ſand, that it is difficult to open or clean them. 1760. January.

The lakes abound with ſturgeon, armed fiſh, divers ſorts of trouts * and eels, white fiſh, a ſpecies of herring, mullet, carp, gulfiſh, gudgeons, and an infinite number of other ſorts, whoſe names are not known to any Europeans. I have not attempted to range the different kinds of fiſh in diſtinct claſſes, but implicitly followed my guide, in giving an exact copy of the liſt with which he preſented me.

The ſame weather; daily labour, and covering parties, &c. &c. as uſual. A Subaltern, Serjeant, Corporal, and fifty privates, provided with thirty rounds of ammunition, three flints, and eight days' proviſions, per man, marched out, on the 22d, to reinforce the poſt at Lorette: a twelve-pounder, with a quantity of artillery-ſtores and ſome Gunners, were alſo ſent out; upon a double diſcharge whereof, which is to be the ſignal for the approach of an enemy, the detachment at St. Foy are to throw up rockets, until anſwered by the guard at the citadel on Cape Diamond. This procedure is in conſequence of intelligence being brought, that a large body of the enemy are come down to Cape Rouge; the centries round the line, and the patroles, are ordered to keep a good look-out, on this, and every ſucceeding night, for the rockets. It may ſeem extraordinary that the enemy have never attempted to moleſt the wood-cutters in the foreſt of St. Foy, and the men continually employed in drawing it to the garriſon; to this I muſt obſerve,—it has been frequently reported, but I cannot take upon me to affirm it as matter of fact, that, if we meet with any annoyance or inter- 21ſt. to the 27th.

* Looking ſome pages forward into the original copy of this Journal, I found a piece of paper that had been miſlaid, containing a memorandum I had made, when formerly reading M. Hennepin's Hiſtory of Canada: he ſays, 'he has ſeen 'ſalmon-trout, taken out of the lakes, ſixty pounds weight, five feet and an half 'in length, and above one foot diameter; red and firm as ſalmon,' &c.

1760. January. ruption in this buſineſs, during the courſe of the winter, every houſe in the town, not actually occupied by troops and Britiſh merchants, ſhall be dilapidated, not ſparing convents, or other public buildings; their timber cut up for the uſe of the garriſon, and the inhabitants driven into the country. Moreover, that, in conſequence of a letter, or meſſage, to this purpoſe, to M. de Levis, he has promiſed that our detachments, cutting and drawing wood for fuel, ſhall not be moleſted; and that immediate orders, to this effect, have been circulated throughout the country, and among the regular Canadian and Indian forces. All that I ſhall offer upon this ſubject is, that, though confidently and repeatedly this has been ſpoken of, it was not univerſally believed; nor did it ever gain credit with me: for, I am perſuaded, the judicious precautions that hitherto have been, and ſtill continue to be taken, are the principal cauſes of our not being interrupted or attacked, through the whole progreſs of this indiſpenſable ſervice. A deſerter, from one of the enemy's advanced poſts, informs us, that the French troops are ſo inconceivably diſtreſſed, for all kinds of proviſions and liquors, that their perſeverance is aſtoniſhing; he adds, that their numbers may amount to about twelve thouſand, including ſavages, &c. who are all ſo diſperſed, and at their liberty to ſhift for themſelves, that they ſcarcely deſerve the name of an army. When this fellow was brought before the Governor, there was a French Officer preſent, who is a priſoner on his parole: he ſeemed diſconcerted at the admiſſion of the deſerter, and ſwaggered about the apartment in great wrath; after the Governor had examined him, he gave him a dollar, and, as ſoon as he got it into his hand, looking attentively on it, he cried out, 'ça, ça, 'l'argent blanc!—This is no French money! Indeed, pleaſe your 'Excellency, it is a long, long time ſince I was maſter of ſo many 'livres; a few of theſe, properly applied, would induce even 'the Officers, as well as ſoldiers of the miſerable French army, 'to follow my example.'—This ſpeech inraged the Officer to ſuch

a degree, that he exceeded all bounds of decorum, till at length being told, in a very peremptory tone of voice, 'that, if he did 'not behave himſelf as he ought to do, he ſhould be confined 'under the ſame roof with this deſerter, but not in ſuch good company;' Monſieur thought it adviſable to alter his haughty deportment, and apologiſe for his indiſcretion. This garriſon, it is now pretended, is to be ſtormed, in three different places, by three diviſions, of five thouſand men each, who are to be ſuſtained by a corps of ſix thouſand choſen men, including five hundred Indians. 1760. January.

One Captain, three Subalterns, &c. and three hundred men, are employed, within the walls, in throwing up traverſes in different places, particularly from Cape Diamond to St. John's Gate, and, upon all eminences commanding the avenues and communications between the upper and lower town. Every ſpecies of ammunition round the line is removed into the ſtores, except ten rounds of powder and grape, and the like number of ſhot, per gun. Lieutenant Butler, of the rangers, with a few men, accompanied by an Engineer, are detached expreſs to General Amherſt. The inhabitants aſſure us, that the French troops are retiring from the neighbourhood of our advanced poſts towards Montreal, in conſequence of intelligence received by M. Vaudreuil, of a large body of the main army, under General Gage and Sir William Johnſon, being in motion on the ſide of l'Iſle au Noix. The parole of the day, on the 30th, was *Clarendon*. — Our weather in general, for ſome days paſt, has been perfectly clear, with ſun-ſhine; but the ſeverity of the cold is indeed inconceivable; the wood-ſleighing, and other fatiguing parties, as uſual. 28th. to the 31ſt.

As faſt as the proviſions in the Jeſuits' college are expended, they are replaced from other magazines in the ſuburb of St. Rocque; three ſleighs per regiment are employed for this purpoſe. Spirituous liquors, wine, and vegetables, that have remained in vaulted cellars, and hitherto bade defiance to the ſeverity of the weather, are now frozen; and we have at length got a free com- Feb. 1ſt. to the 6th.

1760. Feb. munication with the ſouth ſhore, by the channel alſo being frozen up, which, until this time, has been open for about a third of the diſtance a-croſs the river. An Officer of this garriſon, who is a priſoner to the enemy, is arrived from Montreal, on his parole; he has been every-where treated with great reſpect and politeneſs; and informs us that the Canadians and Indians, which compoſed the bulk of their army, are diſperſed, but can eaſily be reaſſembled on very ſhort notice; and that their regular and colony troops are cantoned in and about the different poſts eſtabliſhed between Cape Rouge and the capital of the upper country. He adds, that the fortreſs of Jacques Cartier, by reaſon of its elevated ſituation, appears very difficult of acceſs; but, by all he could perceive, the works of the place conſiſt only of a rampart of earth and faſcines, with a ditch to the country ſide, and ſome picquet-work; that they have a large battery next the river, to command the channel, with flank-fires to ſcour the ſhore, both above and below the garriſon; and that it underwent great repairs immediately after the defeat of their army on the memorable 13th of September, and had ſeveral guns mounted on the faces next the country, as they apprehended we would endeavour to become maſters of that place, either to ſerve as a barrier to Quebec, or to demoliſh it. This gentleman likewiſe acquaints us, that the people at Montreal are as gay, and in as good ſpirits, as if they were in a more deſirable ſituation, and had never encountered any difficulties, or ſuſtained any loſſes; that he ſaw no ſigns of ſcarcity among them, but, by what he could learn, their troops are at a very ſhort allowance, and all the neceſſaries of life are moſt immoderately advanced in price.

The light infantry are ſhortly to be ſent on ſome important ſervice; for this purpoſe they are now kept off guard and other duties, and are ordered to be in readineſs to march at a moment's warning, with their arms and ammunition complete, and their ſnow-ſhoes in good order. A report prevails, that an expreſs from

from General Amherſt, with diſpatches to our Governor, has fallen into the hands of the enemy, about fourteen leagues above this garriſon. M. de Levis, in order to diſplay a little French humour, and to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of his army, has propoſed to lay a wager of five hundred louis-d'ors, with General Murray, 'that a French 'fleet will arrive here, before a Britiſh one.' To this he received the following ſpirited anſwer: — 'I have not the leaſt inclination 'to win your money; for, I am very certain, I ſhall have the 'honour to embark your Excellency, and the remains of your 'half-ſtarved army, for Europe, in Britiſh bottoms, before the 'expiration of the enſuing ſummer.' A regimental order, of the 5th, poſitively commands all Officers' ſervants to go on ſleighing parties, with the reſt of the men, in their proper turn, on account of the weakneſs of the regiment, through ſickneſs, and the great ſeverity of duty. The troops are deſired to complete their ammunition; and their flints to three per man. Their arms to be hung up in ſuch manner and regularity, as to be come at, on the ſhorteſt notice, without confuſion. A regimental order ſays, — 'in caſe of an alarm, lanthorns and candles will be given to each 'company by the Quarter-Maſter.' All the ſleighs in the garriſon have been ſome days confined to the removal of proviſions, from the Intendant's palace, up to the Jeſuits' college. Several Canadians croſſed the river from Point Levi, with their horſes and ſleighing carriages; they report that the enemy daily appear, in ſmall ſtraggling parties, in their neighbourhood, under pretence of levying proviſions; but they are inclined to think, by their numbers, they have a more conſiderable object in view. In conſequence of this intelligence a large detachment will be made to beat up ſome of their advanced poſts, while the light infantry are to be engaged in routing theſe enterpriſers from the ſouth country. A blockhouſe, with cannon, is to be erected at Point Levi, oppoſite to Cape Diamond. A ſix and a twelve pounder were mounted on diſtinct ſleighs, when trial was made of them, and the invention anſwered

1760. Feb.

to

1760. Feb. to our moſt ſanguine wiſhes, being drawn and worked with as great facility, as upon wheel carriages.

6th. We have received farther accounts this day, that a ſtrong body of the enemy are aſſembled near the church at Point Levi, and have the modeſty to declare they are now reſolved to attack Quebec, and are in daily expectation of being reinforced with a more powerful corps, who are upon their march, eſcorting a formidable detachment of artillery. Laſt night they made a chain of fires upon the hills oppoſite to the garriſon, by way of amuſing us; and, leſt it ſhould be their deſign to make an attempt upon the contrary ſide of the town, the guards at the fortified houſe, and the other poſts in the ſuburbs of St. Rocque, received orders to be as alert and vigilant as poſſible. Our two Governors viſited all the guards and centries in the night, and were highly pleaſed with the watchfulneſs and diligence of both men and Officers. A Butcher of the army, and ſome of the citizens, who were intruſted with a conſiderable ſum of money, a quantity of ſpirituous liquors, and ſalt proviſions, belonging to the different meſſes of Officers, in order to change them with the people of the conquered country for ſheep, pigs, poultry, beavers, hares, &c. &c. and ſome beef, have unluckily fallen into the hands of the enemy, as they were about to return from the ſouth ſhore to the garriſon with their ſtock. Our ſoldiers grow more ſickly, and many of them are daily carried off by the inveteracy of their diſorders, notwithſtanding all imaginable care is taken of them. Every man who is able, and not upon duty, is employed on ſome ſervice or other, both within and without the walls; and the poor fellows ſubſiſt under their inceſſant toils with aſtoniſhing alacrity.

7th. to the 12th. The light infantry companies are now incorporated under the command of Major Dalling, of the twenty-eighth regiment; and are ordered to be completed with firelocks inſtead of ſhort carbines, at their own requeſt. When it is neceſſary to make a large detachment from the garriſon, the duty will be done by corps, beginning with

with the eldeſt and youngeſt, and, in like manner, alternately; the firſt five regiments, for duty, with the light troops; a detachment of two Captains, ſix Subalterns, ſixteen Non-commiſſioned, of equal rank, our Drummers, and two hundred privates; and a ſmaller party of one Subaltern, two Serjeants, two Corporals, one Drummer, and forty privates; are all under orders of readineſs to parade at a moment's warning, with their arms in exceeding good repair, fifty rounds of ammunition and three flints per man. The General has ordered that the number of women allowed to be victualled, according to the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral regiments, may receive full allowance for the future; on this occaſion a return was demanded of the females in each corps, a copy of which I beg to lay before the reader: and it is remarkable, that we have not loſt one of them in the whole courſe of this ſevere winter, nor have they even been ſickly. 1760. Feb.

Regiments.	Women *.
Fifteenth,	37
Twenty-eighth,	65
Thirty-fifth,	73
Forty-third,	63
Forty-ſeventh,	42
Forty-eighth,	82
Fifty-eighth,	53
Sixtieth, ſecond battalion,	35
Ditto, third battalion,	38
Seventy-eighth,	58
Artillery,	20
Rangers,	3
In all	569

* The Serjeant, who brought me this return, reported them all well, able to eat their allowance, and *fit for duty both by day and night.*

The

1760. Feb. The body of the enemy, on the ſouth ſhore, are ſaid to conſiſt of five hundred regulars, three hundred Canadians, and two hundred ſavages; they are commanded by a Captain of the grenadiers, who is a volunteer on this occaſion; and their object, ſay they, is to eſtabliſh a poſt at the church of Point Levi, and to plunder the country; hoping thereby to diſtreſs this garriſon. They ſent a written meſſage to the Officers of the Britiſh troops, which the peaſant had orders to deliver to our Governor, on pain of having his houſe burned down, and was to this effect:—'If we wanted to have 'our hair dreſſed, and would honour them with our company, 'upon their ground, they had a choſen corps of expert frizzlers, '*(friſeurs*; alluding to their barbarians) at our ſervice.' His Excellency deſired the bearer to acquaint theſe enterpriſing heroes, 'that we would ſhortly have the honour to anſwer their polite billet, 'from the muzzles of our pieces.'

The weather has been ſo uncommonly mild, inclining to a thaw, for ſome days, that our troops have been prevented from croſſing the river. Our wood-cutters, at the foreſt of St. Foy, are called home. A detachment of French Grenadiers are ſculking in the neighbourhood of our poſt at Lorette; Captain Hazen, with twenty-five rangers only, ſurpriſed a large party of them, two nights ago, who were driving off ſome cattle: when they found they were diſcovered, they took to their heels, in the moſt precipitate manner, without firing a ſhot: the ranger purſued them above a mile, calling after them to ſtand and fight him. (For, ſays he, my fellows *feel bold* at the repeated ſucceſs of the regulars, and wiſh for an opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves in like manner;) but the Captain perceiving they retired towards a ſtrong *defilé*, and apprehending a ſnare might there have been laid for him, thought proper to diſcontinue the purſuit, and contented himſelf with recovering the cattle, which were returned to their reſpective owners. On the 11th, ſome ſnow fell, and it froze hard; at night Captain M'Donald, and forty light infantry, of the ſeventy-eighth regiment,

ment, were ſent down the river upon the ice, with orders to take a town, and reconnoitre the ſituation and ſtrength of the enemy on the ſouth ſide; they would have ſurrounded a number of them who were in a detached houſe, but, unluckily, while the Captain was making the neceſſary diſpoſition, an old woman came out upon private buſineſs, as is ſuppoſed, and ran back terrified, which cauſed an alarm. This active Officer, finding he was diſcovered, called off his men, and retired, agreeable to his inſtructions, the enemy firing, for near half an hour, at random, but did not venture upon a purſuit; there was not any blood drawn upon this occaſion. The Subaltern and forty men, under orders of readineſs, are to ſerve as an eſcort to two ſix-pounders, which, with an artillery Officer, and a proper number of Gunners, are to attend the light troops, who are to march this night, or to-morrow at day-break. 1760. February

This morning, a little before day, the light infantry croſſed the river, and, upon gaining *terra firma*, Major Dalling cauſed a rocket to be thrown up, as a ſignal for the cannon to follow; a detachment of two hundred men marched at the ſame time, and inclined downwards, in order to divide the enemy's attention, while the Major was to gain the church and eminences of Point Levi: the enemy, alarmed at the rocket, began immediately to fire and yell, according to cuſtom; but, perceiving, as the day dawned, that we had got poſſeſſion, and were marching towards the church, they made a diſpoſition as if they intended to maintain their ground, hoping their ſnow-ſhoes would give them a great ſuperiority over us. The field-pieces being, by this time, arrived, the Major drew up one of them in front, which was ſo briſkly ſerved, that a few diſcharges of round and grape ſhot threw them into confuſion, and diſperſed them: our people then advanced, and, approaching the church and the Prieſt's houſe on the other ſide of the road, they received a furious fire, which, as uſual, only ſerved to animate our men, who inſtantly ſurrounded thoſe buildings, and pelted them through the windows, until they diſpoſſeſſed them; (for the light infantry, From the 13th. to the 20th.

1760. Feb. infantry, having their ſnow-rackets, were inabled, by means of the ſnow, to command the windows of the church, which were otherwiſe too high for them ;) the enemy then betook themſelves to the heights, whence they were ſoon routed, and, at length, retired to a poſt we formerly had there, called the leſſer rock-guard : here they hoped to make a ſtand, as that place, by its ſingular ſituation, overlooks all the circumjacent ground, where our forces were laſt year incamped ; but, perceiving, by ſome excellent movements made by our troops, that they were in danger of being ſurrounded, after firſt firing a few irregular ſhots, they retired with precipitation, leaving us in poſſeſſion of the church and its environs ; our intrepid ſoldiers purſued them for ſeveral miles with great eagerneſs, killing and wounding them in their flight : of the latter we think there muſt be many among them, as great quantities of blood everywhere appeared on the ſnow in their rear. In this morning's rencounter a Lieutenant and fifteen men were made priſoners, ſeven were found dead in the church and the Prieſt's houſe, and five on the road to the weſtward of them ; we alſo recovered a great ſtock of proviſions they had collected, conſiſting of beef, mutton, bread, flour, and peaſe. On our ſide, a Serjeant was killed, an Officer and twenty men wounded ; which was our whole loſs. We cannot aſcertain the number of the enemy that were engaged, for they had detached ſeveral parties down the river, to lay the country under contributions ; but we compute them at about ſix hundred : one of the ſavages was killed at the firſt diſcharge made by the ſix-pounder, which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of his painted fraternity, that they thought it adviſable to keep at a greater diſtance, and wait the iſſue of the day ; for they have an invincible dread of artillery. Carpenters were immediately ſent over to barricade the windows of the church and the Prieſt's houſe, and a detachment will relieve the light infantry there to-morrow, being now reſolved to keep that poſt, in like manner as the others at St. Foy and Lorette. Some deſerters came over to us this morning, the

14th ;

14th; and inform us, that we killed an Officer, a Cadet, a Serjeant, and thirteen privates, including the ſavage; — the wounded, they ſay, they cannot aſcertain, their people having inſtantly diſperſed, ſo that an exact report of them could not be made; but they believe they were numerous, —*for it was as devil of a bruſh as ever they experienced*; this, with other circumſtances, makes us conclude the enemy have ſuffered conſiderably: theſe fellows add, that their whole force did not exceed a thouſand, but they had not above two thirds of that number, including about forty Indians, when we attacked them; the remainder being detached to different parts of the country for *vivres*; that, upon their being alarmed, on the night of the 11th, by our reconnoitring party, the reſt of their barbarians and ſome Canadians, who are allied to them by marriage, and were dreſſed and painted *à la ſauvage*, went off with diſcontent, carrying away great quantities of proviſions with them. Between nine and ten this night we were alarmed by ſome rockets at a diſtance up the river, and, in leſs than two hours, we received advice from the Commanding Officer at Lorette, that ſome of his centinels had alſo ſeen them, — and, by their information, he thinks it was about Cape Rouge; but, before the arrival of this expreſs, half of the troops in garriſon were ordered to accoutre, and to remain in readineſs to turn out at a moment's warning: an Officer and fifty men were likewiſe detached to reinforce that poſt, and patroles were inſtantly ſent from each regiment through their reſpective diſtricts, to examine all the French houſes, and inquire whether any ſtrangers were among them. A citizen, who was employed by the Officers to purvey for them in the country, being charged with a conſiderable ſum of money and ſeveral buſhels of ſalt, was made priſoner by a ſtraggling party of the enemy; whereupon a remonſtrance was made to Monſieur Vaudreuil, with a menace to this effect:—'As the man is no ſoldier, or perſon bearing arms, if 'he is not reſtored, with every thing that was taken from him, 'the convents ſhall be laid under contribution, and ſuch other re- 1760. Feb.

1760. February

'priſals made as ſhall ſeem neceſſary, &c.' which was attended with ſucceſs, the man being returned, with all his money and ſalt: the Governor-General, in ſome meaſure, apologiſed for this violence, by pretending the fellow was taken up on ſuſpicion of his being a ſpy. Our advanced poſts at Lorette, St. Foy, and Point Levi, were this day, the 15th, relieved by three Captains, eight Subalterns, with Non-commiſſioned in proportion, and four hundred privates; the two former parties were eſcorted by two companies of light infantry; and, in conſequence of orders to reconnoitre the country, they advanced within ſight of the neareſt poſt of the enemy, which is at St. Auguſtine, and made one priſoner, from whom we have the following intelligence: 'That a body of four thouſand men had been, 'ſome time ago, aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Montreal, and 'marched down to St. Auguſtine, to preſerve the name and ſpirit 'of an army in the colony, and to levy contributions on the con-'quered pariſhes; for this laſt purpoſe one fourth of their numbers 'were detached a-croſs the river, but that, being defeated and driven 'from Point Levi, the reſt of their forces retired immediately to-'wards their capital, except about three hundred, which ſtill re-'main in the vicinity of St. Auguſtine and Cape Rouge, whereof 'one hundred only are regulars;' he adds, 'that their Officers af-'fected to alledge, as the motive of their returning to Montreal, that 'the light troops of General Amherſt's army were in motion upon 'their frontiers.' Being examined with reſpect to the rockets, he ſays, 'they had debates among themſelves, whether they were ſo 'in reality, and played off by our people; or motions in the ſtars, 'which, with lights and flaſhes in the firmament, are uſual at this 'ſeaſon of the year.' This man confirms the repeated accounts we have, from time to time, received of the wretched condition of the French army, who, he ſays, are almoſt totally deſtitute of the ordinary neceſſaries of life. The orders for half the garriſon to continue accoutred and in readineſs is countermanded, and the light infantry are directed to do duty with their reſpective regiments.

Here

Here follows an extract of the orders of the 18th inſtant: "As "nothing is better for the ſcurvy, which is the cauſe of the diſor- "ders in this army, than vinegar, the Governor has ordered double "the quantity that has hitherto been received to be iſſued out to "the ſoldiers, and the Quarter-Maſters will receive a whole caſk "each this day: and are to be anſwerable that it is thawed, before "they deliver it out to the men. The light infantry, for the fu- "ture, are to take the citadel and Cape Diamond guards, that they "may be ready to be detached, whenever opportunity offers; for "this purpoſe they muſt hereafter bring their ſnow-ſhoes with "them, when they parade for guards. One Captain, two Subal- "terns, &c. and two hundred privates, to parade, to-morrow morn- "ing, at eight o'clock, with their arms and cartouch-boxes; theſe "men are to cut faſcines, each man to make three per day, and he "will receive two pence for each faſcine; ſuch men as are expert "in making them to be ſent on this duty. The covering party, to "the wood-ſleighers, will remain out to-morrow, long enough for "the regiments, that chuſe it, to make two turns." We have had pleaſant weather for ſome days paſt, and, wherever the ſun ſhone, it was very agreeable, this ſeaſon and climate duly conſidered. The enemy have lately contracted for ſeveral thouſand quarters of beef in the ſouth country; but the inhabitants, like the good old Vicar of Bray, ſeeing we have got poſſeſſion of the church of Point Levi, and eſtabliſhed a poſt there, wiſely ſided with the ſtrongeſt party, turned upon their late friends, after their cattle had been ſlaugh- tered; and poſitively refuſed to ſupply them, or to grant any of their demands; the militia Captains, of the different diſtricts, having in- formed the Governor of theſe matters, the beef is ordered to be collected, and brought over to the garriſon, for the uſe of the ſick and convaleſcents, who are very numerous; and the country people are to be ſupplied with ſtore proviſions in exchange. 1760. February

This morning the Commanding Officer at the church of Point Levi, purſuant to his orders, detached two Serjeants and twenty men From the 21ſt. to the 25th.

1760. Feb. men to ſcour the country as far as the river Etchemin; as they proceeded through a dangerous *defilé*, which is a hollow road environed with dark woods and eminences, leading to a narrow foot-bridge, they were fired upon by a body of French and Indians, who killed two men, and made a Serjeant and ſix others priſoners: this unexpected ſalute threw the reſt into ſome confuſion, but the remaining Serjeant boldly rallied his men, made a ſtand, and returned the fire into the cover, though they could not diſcern their enemy; at length a peaſant luckily came up at that inſtant, by a croſs road, with a green bough in his hat, and adviſed the Serjeant to retire to the church as faſt as poſſible, otherwiſe he muſt inevitably be ſurrounded by above ten times his numbers; the Serjeant accordingly retreated in a very orderly manner, keeping his companions well together, leſt the enemy ſhould purſue them; which, however, they did not attempt. This is the identical paſs where the Surgeon's Mate, with his eſcort, were way-laid, on the 26th of July laſt, as has been mentioned in its proper place. A Serjeant and three privates, of the ſeventy-eighth regiment, were killed by the falling of an old houſe. Our weather changed to a liquid rain laſt night and this morning, the 22d; which is remarkable at this ſeaſon, and is the firſt we have ſeen ſince the ſetting in of the froſt. The troops are ordered to contrive ways and means to draw off the great quantities of ſnow from the tops and ſides of their houſes, before it begins to melt, to prevent the Officers and ſoldiers from being wet in their quarters; this precaution is extremely neceſſary, and is recommended to be put in practice without loſs of time. The wind having ſhifted to the north-weſt on the 23d, it froze immoderately hard; and the enemy, taking the advantage of it, marched down to the ground on the ſouth ſide, that was occupied by the forty-eighth regiment laſt campaign, known by the name of Burton's redoubt; and threw up ſome traverſes with logs and felled trees, intending to eſtabliſh a poſt there, in caſe of being repulſed in their farther enterpriſes. On the morning of the 24th they advanced towards

towards the church to reconnoitre our ſituation, and met with a very warm reception; the garriſon being alarmed, the light infantry were immediately detached, and the General marched in perſon with four regiments, and as many pieces of cannon, ſix-pounders, in order to ſuſtain the others, in caſe it ſhould be requiſite: his Excellency drew up this brigade with his artillery on the river, and, the relief of the guards being poſtponed until the evening, the reſt of the troops in garriſon remained under arms, on the grand parade, for ſeveral hours. The enemy made a faint attempt at the church, but, upon the appearance of Major Dalling's corps on the hills above them, they ſheered off, with great precipitation, to their breaſt-works, whence our people ſoon routed them: at their firſt giving way, the Governor faced the brigade that was on the river to the right, and marched, with all poſſible ſpeed, to the mouth of the river Etchemin, hoping to cut off their retreat; here a warm conteſt enſued, which laſted about three quarters of an hour, when they at length gave way, with great loſs, having forced a road over the hills to the ſouthward, a-croſs the country, before our light infantry could poſſibly get round to intercept them. We made ſeveral priſoners, who, with ſome deſerters that afterwards came in, informed us, that their whole force amounted to near eight hundred men, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of regulars and *troupes de colonie*, except about forty ſavages; that they were commanded by M. St. Martin, a Captain of grenadiers, who came fully determined to ſtrike a *coup de main*, and get a deciſive poſſeſſion of the church. We are told that they ſuffered very conſiderably, which we conjectured, by the quantities of blood that every-where appeared, they muſt have done; and we could perceive them dragging off many of their lifeleſs companions, and others who were wounded: the poſt at the church was immediately reinforced. On the morning of the 25th four other deſerters came in, by whom we learn, that the enemy had ſeven men killed at the church, and nineteen wounded; that their whole loſs there, in the purſuit, and at the point by the river

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river Etchemin, amounted to near ſixty, killed, wounded, and priſoners; that M. St. Martin hoped to have retrieved his honour yeſterday, for his miſcarriage on the 13th inſtant; and had actually eight hundred men, many of whom were volunteers and choſen veterans, beſides ſavages, and forty hatchet-men, provided with hatchets, wood, and pickaxes, who were to have forced the doors of the church and parſonage-houſe, ruſhed in upon our people like a torrent, and put every man to the ſword; it is added, that the Indians could not have been prevailed on to imbark in this enterpriſe, until they were aſſured that they ſhould be rewarded with the ſcalps of all the killed and wounded. Our loſs, yeſterday, was one man killed; a Serjeant, Corporal, and four privates wounded; all that ſuffered on the part of the enemy were carried off on ſleighs, which, with horſes and drivers, they brought from St. Michel for that purpoſe, where their forces rendezvouſed, previous to their attempt on Point Levi. The women belonging to the troops are now ordered to be victualled, at four full rations for ſix; — which is the number that each company, throughout the whole, are to return and draw for. A detachment of one Major, three Captains, ſix Subalterns, twenty-four Non-commiſſioned of each rank, ſix Drummers, and three hundred men, are to parade, to-morrow, at day-break, with arms, three flints, fifty rounds of ammunition, and one day's proviſion per man; ſuch of the light infantry as are, in their turn, to go with this command, are directed to take their ſnow-ſhoes with them; it is ſaid, that two naval Officers, and a party of ſeamen, are to march with the foregoing detachment to-morrow.

From the 26th. to the 29th.

We have now got milder weather, and, though it freezes hard at night, the ſun grows comfortably warm for the greateſt part of the day; we have excellent ſkaiting from the garriſon to the ſouth ſhore, where a block-houſe will ſhortly be erected, which the Carpenters are framing for that purpoſe. Major Elliot, of the forty-third regiment, with the above-mentioned detachment of three hundred, &c. and a body of ſailors, croſſed the river, this morning, to the

village

village of St. Michel, on the weſt ſide of Etchemin; and conſumed every houſe throughout that pariſh, as far as the Chaudiere; they returned in the afternoon, without meeting with any annoyance. Though melancholy and diſagreeable a procedure of this kind may be, and undoubtedly is, to every upright and generous mind, yet the wretched inhabitants certainly incurred this puniſhment by their late revolt; for their young active men not only took up arms and joined the enemy, but they alſo endeavoured to inveigle the neighbouring pariſhes into the ſame breach of allegiance, contrary to their reſpective engagements; and they moreover neglected, in contempt of the Governor's repeated orders, to acquaint his Excellency with the arrival of M. St. Martin's corps in their diſtrict; vainly flattering themſelves, if that Officer ſhould ſucceed, which they did not doubt, in the recovery of the poſt at Point Levi, he would be able to protect them, and the ſouth country, at leaſt, until a farther reinforcement might arrive, to put their future ſituation deciſively beyond diſpute. The General immediately publiſhed a placart, wherein he ſet forth his reaſons for proceeding to ſuch grievous extremities, ſo very repugnant, (as he juſtly obſerves) to the humane ſentiments of a Britiſh army and Commander: requeſting, at the ſame time, that the Canadians in general of the conquered countries will, hereafter take warning by this dreadful example, &c. &c. 1760. Feb.

A Lieutenant of the French Rouſillon, who has been our priſoner ſince laſt September, and was every day hoſpitably entertained at the Governor's table, is put in arreſt for ſome mal-practices. Two Enſigns are ordered for interment, who died of the malignant diſorders which have raged this winter among our men, and ſtill continue to diminiſh our numbers. A detachment of two hundred privates, with three Subalterns, &c. are ſent down to the iſle of Orleans to make faſcines, and are to remain there till farther Orders. A deſerter from one of the battalions of the ſixtieth regiment, who left us laſt campaign, arrived late at night on the 27th,

1760. February being intruſted with a letter to the Governor, from a Captain of Rangers, who is a priſoner at Montreal; he ſet out from thence two days before the French army were to move off, who are at length coming down to execute their long projected undertaking for the recovery of this garriſon; their forces are ſaid to conſiſt of three thouſand regulars, eight thouſand ſelect Canadians, and three hundred ſavages, with a reſpectable train of artillery. Our intelligencer has alſo ſent off an expreſs to General Amherſt with theſe particulars, and likewiſe to inform him, that two hundred men only are to be left at Montreal. Through the ſame channel we learn, that a ſmall ſquadron ſailed from New-York, for the river St. Lawrence, near ſix weeks ago; this, however, does not gain credit, the navigation being intirely ſhut up with ice, a circumſtance of which our friends to the ſouthward cannot poſſibly be ignorant. The light infantry are reſerved from duty, being under orders of readineſs to take a hunt, as we now phraſe it, at a moment's warning. A flag of truce came to the church of Lorette on the 28th at night, with propoſals for an exchange of priſoners; a complimentary letter was alſo ſent to the Governor, with others on buſineſs to merchants of this city, incloſed in the ſame packet, for his Excellency's inſpection. The French army are arrived at Jacques Cartier *; it is pretended that Monſieur de Levis will form his forces into three diviſions, and make a rapid attack on our detached poſts, *tout d'un coup*, which is to be executed by a ſignal of three rockets; and, after cutting off ſuch a number of healthy and effective men, they flatter themſelves, from the weakneſs of our garriſon by ſickneſs and mortality, we ſhall be reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to their ſuperior army. Captain M'Donald, of the ſeventy-eighth

* A ſettlement ſo called from the name of a man who is ſaid to have commanded a fleet in the firſt diſcovery of this river and colony, and was ſhipwrecked againſt that part of the coaſt overlooked by the eminence whereon the fort of Jacques Cartier now ſtands.

regiment, was ſent out with an anſwer to the French General; and, as the enemy expected it, they detached a Serjeant's party to a certain diſtance from their moſt advanced poſt to meet our flag, that we might not gain any intelligence of their ſtrength or ſituation; but M'Donald, inſtead of delivering his diſpatches to the Serjeant, told him he was a Captain, and ſpiritedly ordered him back to his Commander, with this meſſage, 'that, if he would not ſend out an 'Officer of equal rank, by a certain time limited, he would return 'to Quebec, without imparting the purport of his errand;' Monſieur was too polite to be refractory on this occaſion, a Captain and Drummer being immediately ſent out to receive his expreſs. I am credibly informed, that the propoſal, on the part of the enemy, for an exchange of priſoners, was only *fineſſe*, to procure an opportunity of reconnoitring our poſt at Lorette; for which, and other reaſons, our Governor acquainted M. de Levis, 'if he will return the 'Serjeant who was taken the 21ſt inſtant, he will releaſe to him the 'Enſign whom we took at Point Levi on the 13th preceding.' A Field-Officer is ordered, for the future, to viſit our out-poſts twice in every eight days. The duty of this garriſon is now ſo ſevere, by reaſon of our immenſe numbers of ſick and weak men, that the General has been pleaſed to eaſe the corps of their regimental guards; in this caſe, all priſoners are to be ſent to the guards moſt contiguous to each regiment's diſtrict, together with their crimes ſpecified in writing, ſigned by an Officer; and muſt be immediately reported to the Commander of that battalion to which ſuch delinquents may belong. Ginger being eſteemed a moſt ſpecific corrective in ſcorbutic caſes, a quantity of that ſpice is iſſued out to the troops, for which, as is mentioned in the orders, "they will "pay the Government's price." 1760. Feb.

The effective ſtrength of our garriſon, on the 29th of October laſt, was ſeven thouſand three hundred and thirteen, all ranks included: at this period I am concerned to obſerve, comprehending every degree, we are reduced to four thouſand eight hundred fighting March, from the 1ſt. to the 12th. inclusive.

1760. March. ing men; fevers, dyſenteries, and moſt obſtinate ſcorbutic diſorders have been the cauſe of this great decreaſe; and our various hoſpitals are, at this inſtant, overcrowded with patients. Five thouſand pounds weight of brown ſugar is ordered to be iſſued out to the troops, at the ſame prices as before; and the Pay-Maſters of regiments are deſired to give in bills on their Agents in London, to the Treaſurer, for their reſpective proportions.

Some accidents having happened in the ſtreets by the men ſlipping and falling, it is again ordered that they parade with their creepers for all duties within the town. Commanding Officers are deſired to have all the wells in their reſpective diſtricts ſhut up, that their men may be obliged to uſe the river water. As there are flying parties of the enemy on every ſide the town, our ſoldiers are once more injoined not to ſtray to the ſouth ſhore, or to any other place, without the walls, except when ſent upon duty. We are informed that M. Bois Hibert is arrived in this country from Nova Scotia, and has brought the greateſt part of the natives to reinforce the French army; it muſt be through this channel that we have received intelligence of the different tribes of Indians in that province, and its dependencies, having buried the hatchet, and concluded a peace with Governor Lawrence. The orders of the 5th are to the following effect; "Perhaps there is not a garriſon that has, for "ſo long a time, been ſo healthy as this; the ſobriety of the ſoldier, "and the vigilance of the Officer, have greatly contributed towards "it; but, leſt too great a confidence in our own ſtrength, inabling "us to bear the ſeverity of the approaching ſeaſon, ſhould lead us "to omit any aid we have in our power, it is particularly recom-"mended that all regard be had to cleanlineſs, both in barracks "and hoſpitals, eſpecially the former: Serjeants and Corporals "are ordered, every morning when the men get up, to ſee that "their bedding be well ſhook, the births and rooms well cleaned; "the vinegar well thawed, and given to their reſpective meſſes, "in the proportions allowed to each; and, as the companies are

"provided

" provided with a quantity of ginger, they are alſo to ſee the " men mix it with the water they have occaſion to drink, which " water muſt be always taken from the river; this is to be read " to the men, and a copy of it fixed up in every barrack-room." 1760. March.

With reſpect to the former part of theſe ſalutary orders, they were thought to be the effects of good policy, that the men may not become too depreſſed, or diſpirited, under their afflictive maladies, or at ſeeing ſuch immenſe numbers continually in the hoſpitals, and funerals ſo frequent throughout the garriſon. It was ſaid, upon this occaſion, that perhaps his Excellency's ſuperior experience, particularly in the beginning of the then late war at Porto Bello and Carthagena, where he had an opportunity of ſeeing both Officers and ſoldiers buried, not by dozens or ſcores, but by hundreds, might influence him to think leſs of the daily decreaſe of our moſt able duty-men here, by inveterate diſeaſes, and their fatal conſequences; at the ſame time it has manifeſtly appeared to every man in this army, that — that excellent ingredient in the compoſition of an able obſervant General, *the preſervation of the health of the ſoldiery*, has been peculiarly prevalent in the Governor, and ſeemingly as if actuated thereto by motives of humanity and fellow-feeling, equally as by ſound policy. Information has been received, that a body of ſix hundred regulars and militia, with two hundred Indians, under the command of M. Jotriel, are down at Beaumont, about three leagues to the eaſtward of Point Levi, purveying for the French army. A return is required to be made of the ſtate of each grenadier company, ſpecifying thoſe fit for duty; this occaſions ſome ſpeculation.

O R D E R S.

" As it is impoſſible to get freſh proviſions for the troops, " in our preſent ſituation; for the preſervation of the ſoldiers' " health it is abſolutely neceſſary to give the utmoſt attention " to freſhening and boiling pork, which ought to be done in the

" following

1760. March. "following manner: pork or beef to be ſteeped, at leaſt, twenty "hours, changing the water three times, ſcraping and waſhing "the ſalt off at each time that the water is removed, and then "boil it with the peaſe, as uſual; but the ſoldiers are deſired, as they "value their own health, never to eat their ſalt meat raw or "broiled; theſe orders are to be fixed up in every barrack-room, "and the Commanding Officers are to be anſwerable they are "put in execution."

Three deſerters are come in from the French regulars, who inform us that a reſolution had actually been taken to ſtorm this garriſon, and was to have been executed on the 15th inſtant; but that the project is now intirely laid aſide, for which they give us the following reaſons: an attempt was to have been made by *eſcalade*, and for this purpoſe a conſiderable number of ladders, of different dimenſions, were provided, and ſeveral of them reared againſt a church for the practice of an army; that many experiments were exhibited, and efforts uſed, to inſtruct their troops in this kind of ſervice; but, that ſuch was the impetuoſity of the men, ſome ladders ſlipped, and others were broken, whereby great diſaſters have enſued, viz. legs and arms broke and ſtrained, ſculls fractured, bruiſes innumerable, and five Canadians were ruptured by the falls they got; that theſe accidents had ſo effectually chilled the enterpriſing natives, who were the firſt promoters of this Quixote undertaking, that they poſitively refuſed, upon the ladders being replaced, to make farther trial, concluding it would be impracticable to recover the town by inſult or *eſcalade*. In conſequence of theſe deſponding ſentiments, the General and Field-Officers returned to Montreal, leaving the Captains to march back the regulars to their cantonments, and the militia diſperſed to their reſpective diſtricts. Theſe fellows add, that the *troupes de France* were very ſanguine in this undertaking, in hopes, if they ſucceeded, of acquiring a great deal of plunder, and a larger allowance of proviſions;

visions; moreover, if their Officers had thought it advisable to persevere, their private men were well disposed to make the attempt by giving the first assault; but, that wisely foreseeing they could not depend upon the Canadians sustaining them, it was unanimously resolved, in a council of war, to decline the enterprise. A blockhouse is erected at Point Levi, to secure the landing, and command the communication between the garrison and the church; three nine-pounders are mounted there on ship-carriages, in like manner as at the great advanced blockhouse, in the center of the chain behind the town. Four other deserters are come in, who confirm the report of the *escalade*; and subjoin, that the Indians are threatening to break with the army, and the country would gladly surrender; but that, their general Officers flattering themselves with the arrival of a fleet and succours, as soon as the season will permit, it is instant death to talk of capitulating: they farther say, that their troops are in the greatest distress, and the Canadians are overwhelmed with despair, being in continual dread of the light troops of General Amherst's army, who, they persist in affirming, are upon their back settlements, spreading desolation throughout their frontiers; whence many wretched families are arrived to seek for refuge on the island of Montreal. — A Lieutenant, and five privates, of the forty-third regiment, died, on the morning of the 12th; this is the most unhealthy corps in the garrison. 1760. March.

ORDERS.

"Tar-water being now recommended to the men, tar may be "had by applying to the Quarter-Master-General. A Serjeant, of "the forty-eighth regiment, having distinguished himself in the field, "and being recommended by his Colonel as qualified, in every "respect, to act up to the dignity of an Officer, is appointed En-"sign in the same corps."

All

1760. March. All wood-ſleighing parties, with other fatiguing and fighting parties, as uſual; our weather variable, but in general froſt and ſnow, with piercing high winds. We have got no leſs than fourteen deſerters, within theſe laſt forty-eight hours, from the French regular and colony troops.

From the 13th. to the 20th. An intelligent Serjeant of *grenadiers de France* has deſerted to us, and corroborates our former intelligence, reſpecting the project of ſtorming this garriſon, the *eſcalade* of the church, the general diſcontents and diſtreſſes prevailing in their army, and among the upper inhabitants, &c. He adds, that an Officer and fifty men are left at St. Auguſtine; a Captain and one hundred, at Jacques Cartiers; four Officers and two hundred, at les Trois Rivieres; and the remainder of their army are gone back to Montreal, except the detachment which is down the river collecting proviſions: and theſe M. Jotriel conveys ſecretly, through the woods, to the higher country. The Engineer and ranging Officer, who were detached expreſs to the Commander in Chief, in the latter end of January, are ſafe arrived at Fort Halifax; this intelligence is brought by two of the rangers who were ſent back to acquaint the Governor therewith. — The regiments are deſired to apply to the Quarter-Maſter-General for tubs wherein to freſhen the mens' proviſions. The grenadier companies are ordered to be completed immediately to ſixty-three rank and file; it is conjectured they will ſoon be detached on an important ſervice. By deſerters, who are newly come in, we have intelligence that a body of the light troops, from General Amherſt's army, with a corps of Indians, under Sir William Johnſon, ſaid to amount to upwards of ſeven hundred men, have poſſeſſed themſelves of Fort Chamble, on the lower end of lake Champlain. A ſecond blockhouſe being now erected on the ſouth ſhore, we have evacuated the church of St. Joſeph, and the parſonage-houſe, for the benefit of the wretched pariſhioners. It is ſurmiſed that the light infantry and grenadiers will be ſent out together on a ſecret expedition. A

French

French priſoner, going to draw water for himſelf and comrades, went without his ſhoes, which he ſlipped into his pocket, under pretence of being more ſecure againſt falling; as ſoon as he got on the river, he laid down his bucket and ran off, leaving the centinel, who guarded him, to carry the water, and news of his eſcape, back to his poſt: our ſoldier, being armed with a bayonet only, and having ſtrong-ſoled ſhoes on him, without creepers, could not venture to purſue the priſoner on the ice, who had the advantage of him by being barefooted; and therefore declares he never made ſo ridiculous a figure in his life. The ten companies of grenadiers were reviewed on the fifteenth by the Governor, and his Excellency fills up all vacant commiſſions. 1760. March.

A number of copper camp-kettles are iſſued from the ſtores, which, the orders of the day mention, are to be paid for by each regiment. The flying troops of our main army have burned Fort Chamblé, laid a large village waſte, and deſtroyed between three and four hundred batteaus, whale-boats, canoes, floating-batteries, ſeveral pieces of artillery of different dimenſions, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; moreover, in an action with the enemy in that quarter, the regiment de la Reine is ſaid to have been cut to pieces, and the inhabitants ſuffered much from the wanton rage of our Indian allies. This intelligence was doubted for ſome days, but I have been informed it was confirmed to the Governor by a woman of credit, who is lately come from Montreal, and ſaid ſhe reckoned ſixteen diſtinct fires at a great diſtance, which the peaſants aſſured her was an Engliſh camp. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of this city never betray the leaſt concern or diſcompoſure at any unacceptable news they may receive: on the contrary they are always *debonair*, and ſeldom fail, on theſe occaſions, to reverſe their accounts to our diſadvantage, and impoſe a pompous packet on us of ſome fatal diſaſter having happened on our part, either in Europe or elſewhere, with trifling loſſes on the ſide of the French; an inſtance of this I ſhall juſt mention,

1760. March. and, as it comes from M. Vaudreuil, it paſſes for orthodox among the credulous Canadians: 'The grand Monarch has ſunk, burned, 'and deſtroyed the greateſt fleet that ever England put to ſea, 'had made an intire conqueſt of Ireland, and put all the troops 'and natives who were in arms to the ſword: ſo that the next ſhips 'will certainly bring us an account of a peace being concluded, 'Quebec will be reſtored, and Canada once more flouriſh under a 'French government.'

On the night of the 18th, two hundred light infantry were detached with three days' proviſions, and, at the ſame time, on the 19th, the remainder of that corps, with a company of grenadiers, marched to Lorette church, being the place of rendezvous; and the whole proceeded the next morning at break of day, guided by a French deſerter in a Britiſh uniform. In their route they ſurpriſed an advanced poſt of the enemy, and made the party priſoners, conſiſting of a Corporal and nine privates; having ſecured theſe, they puſhed forward with the greateſt ſpeed, fearing leſt a ſtraggling peaſant, whom they met, ſhould mar their farther views, by alarming the country: the light infantry having reached the wiſhed for object, which was a ſtrong camp, or intrenchment of logs and timbers, with a houſe detached at a ſmall diſtance from it, ſituated between our people and that poſt; they firſt ſurrounded, attacked, and carried the dwelling with their accuſtomed bravery, killed four, and took the reſt, being twenty in number; nine of whom were wounded. The main body of the enemy had, by this time, manned their works, which were breaſt-high, and environed with an *abbatis de bois* to the diſtance of about three hundred yards, whence they fired a few random ſhots, and ſhouted, as uſual. Captain M'Donnald, who commanded this detachment, ſeeing the enemy advantageouſly ſituated, and perceiving the French Officers very active in encouraging their men, expected a warmer diſpute than we have lately been habituated to, and therefore made

made a diſpoſition of his men to attack them in form; as ſoon as our light troops advanced to the charge, and poured in a briſk fire upon them, the enemy threw down their arms, and took to flight; but our grenadiers, who were not able to keep pace with the hunters in marching, critically came up at that inſtant, and cut off the retreat of near four-ſcore, who were made priſoners; and, what is very remarkable, there is not an Officer among them. Monſieur Herbin commanded this detachment, whoſe watch, hat and feather, *fille de joie*, with a caſk of wine, and a ſmall trunk *de liqueurs*, fell into our hands; theſe two laſt articles were a moſt ſeaſonable acquiſition to the conquerors, who were ſo benummed with the ſeverity of the cold, that they could ſcarcely draw their triggers. In this attack of the intrenchment five were killed, and thirteen wounded, on the part of the enemy: on our ſide ſix only were wounded in the whole; but unluckily we had near an hundred ſo diſabled by the froſt, that they were obliged to be brought back to the garriſon on ſleighs. The French ſoldiers talked freely of their Officers, and upon being aſked, how they could behave ſo like poltroons in ſuch a reſpectable poſt? replied, 'if they had not been ſo ſhamefully abandoned by their leaders, 'the Engliſh ſhould have got but a ſour bone for their breakfaſt.' The enemy had five Officers, and an hundred and fifty men, in the intrenchment and houſe; and the priſoners ſay their Commanding Officer, and ſixty grenadiers, withdrew from that place, which is called Calvaire, near to Auguſtine, on the preceding evening, upon ſecret intelligence, received from the garriſon, of our having a large detachment under orders of readineſs to march at the ſhorteſt notice. The remainder of Captain M'Donald's inſtructions being to deſtroy that poſt, with three corn-mills, granaries, and other houſes contiguous thereto, which the enemy had occaſionally uſed as cantonments for their larger bodies, the ſame was executed in view of the priſoners and the miſerable inhabitants of the country; this eſtate is the property of the convent de Hôtel de Dieu, which,

1760. March.

1760. March. I have been told, brought them in a revenue of near three hundred pounds ſterling per annum. The wounded of the enemy were left in charge of the peaſants, with directions to conduct them to Jacques Cartier; and our detachment, with their priſoners, &c. returned to Quebec late on the night of the 20th: when a return was ordered to be ſent in immediately of the number of froſt-bitten men in each corps, that no time might be loſt in recovering them. Such of the ſoldiers as can be ſpared from the uſual occupations of the garriſon are daily employed in firing at marks.

From the 21ſt. to the 31ſt. Four Subalterns' guards are withdrawn, which is no inconſiderable relief to the troops. The Town-Major was ſent to the Abbeſs of the convent de Hôtel de Dieu, or God's houſe, to acquaint her with the reaſons that influenced the Governor to deſtroy their mills and tenements at Calvaire, viz. 'for having tranſmitted intelligence to the enemy, at the laſt detachment's being ordered in readineſs to march out; for having actually carried on a correſpondence with the French army in the whole courſe of this winter, whereby they were informed of all our motions, proceedings, and every other occurrence that happened within the walls.' The Major was deſired to aſſure the Superior and her ſiſters, 'that, if hereafter they ſhould preſume to correſpond with our enemies, directly or indirectly, or in any reſpect act contrary to that good faith and duty which they owe to the King of Great Britain, as their Protector and Prince, they ſhall, without farther ceremony, be baniſhed from Quebec, and their convent converted into a barrack for the troops.' — On the evening of the 22d the General received intelligence, that a ſtrong body of the enemy, under M. du Mas, were returned to Calvaire, with a reſolution to re-ſtabliſh that poſt; the light infantry, with a detachment of five hundred men, two field-pieces, and two howitzers, were ordered to be in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. A reſerve of one Captain, one Subaltern, and fifty rank and file from each regiment, are ordered to mount every evening, and be prepared

for

for immediate ſervice within, or without, as occaſion may require. By the returns that were made on the 24th inſtant, our forces are now reduced to three thouſand fit for duty; our ſick, lame, and convaleſcents amount to nineteen hundred. A report prevails, that M. Herbin, and the other Officers who lately abandoned their detachment and poſt at Calvaire, are put under arreſt; that M. du Mas's corps are retired, being only ſent thither to reconnoitre that place, the better to be able to judge how far theſe gentlemen acted conſiſtent with their duty, and whether they might not have held out, againſt any number of muſketry, until they could be reinforced from St. Auguſtine or Jacques Cartier. The French arms, taken on the 20th, are ordered to be delivered to the Commanding Officer of artillery, for which the ſoldiers who are poſſeſſed of them will receive a gratuity. Doctor Ruſſel having repreſented that wine is actually neceſſary for the preſervation of the health of the troops, the General has ordered forty-four pipes, containing one hundred and eight gallons each, to be bought at ſeventeen pounds currency per pipe, and delivered to the garriſon, in ſuch proportions as are mentioned in the regulations of the day, and diſtributed according to the ſtrength of each corps; the Quarter-Maſters of regiments are deſired to ſee their men ſerved daily at half a pint each; and a regular account muſt be kept, as the wine will be charged at the rate of two pence halfpenny for every half-pint, 'being, by calculation, ſays the order, the 'amount thereof *; for which the Pay-Maſters will give notes, pay-'able when the money arrives for the army,' &c. &c. As the King victuals the women in order to render them uſeful to the men, they are ordered, for the future, to attend the ſick at the hoſpitals, inſtead of the healthy men hitherto employed on that ſervice; theſe

1760. March.

* Two pence halfpenny per half-pint, or ten pence per quart, is eighteen pounds per pipe of one hundred and eight gallons; but two pence farthing would have been under the prime coſt; therefore I preſume it was to avoid fractions, and confuſion in accounts, that it was calculated as above.

1760. March. nurſes will receive full allowance of proviſions, and be paid by their regiments for their trouble; ſuch as refuſe are to be ſtruck off the victualling roll. The enemy, being aſtoniſhed at the ſpirit and exactneſs of duty and diſcipline maintained in this garriſon, have recourſe to various ſtratagems, in hopes to make us relax therein, and to draw us into a ſtate of ſupineneſs; for this purpoſe they have now confidently reported, 'that hoſtilities ought to ceaſe, for that a general peace has actually been concluded in Europe;' and, in order to gain credit to this invention, letters are arrived from Montreal to ſome of the citizens, acquainting them, 'that M. Bois Hibert has 'brought this intelligence from Nova Scotia, and was aſſured of it 'by the St. John's River Indians, to whom it was formally de-'clared in a late treaty between them and the Governor of that 'province.' Madame de St. Claude, Abbeſs of the Auguſtine convent, is reputed the induſtrious inventreſs of theſe and many other groundleſs rumours, which have been circulated among the troops, with a view to corrupt and diſcourage our brave ſoldiers; particularly that of General Amherſt's army being defeated at the Iſle au Noix, with an irretrievable loſs of men and artillery; beſides various other aggravating circumſtances reſpecting the poſture of our affairs upon the lakes, &c. for this cauſe, and to prevent farther practices of this kind, I am credibly informed, the Governor cauſed a letter to be wrote by his Secretary to this Superior, reproaching her with being the author and propagator of theſe abſurd and inconſiſtent fictions; moreover, 'that it is his opinion a woman, who had ſhut 'herſelf up in a convent and retired from the world, has no right 'to intermeddle with what paſſes in it; that, as the devil is the fa-'ther of lies, and ſhe, according to her principles, the Spouſe of 'JESUS CHRIST, his avowed oppoſite, ſhe ought, if ſhe muſt inter-'fere, to endeavour to ſuppreſs, rather than to propagate, falſhoods: 'a crime which ſhe could not be inſenſible is highly odious in the 'ſight of her Maker, and cannot be abſolved from it by any man 'under heaven, however ſhe may, through extreme prejudice, be

'diſpoſed

'diſpoſed to flatter herſelf to the contrary,' or words to that effect; and it is added, that the Officer, who was the bearer of this admonitory epiſtle, had orders to acquaint Madame St. Claude, 'if 'ſhe is tired of living out of the world, and will change her ha-'bit for that of a man, ſhe being of a proper ſtature, his Excel-'lency will inrol her as a grenadier, and, upon her good behaviour, 'will duly promote, and grant her every farther indulgence in his 'power, &c.' — We have had deep ſnow for ſeveral days, which has mollified the air conſiderably, and, with the aid of the ſun, renders the weather much leſs rigorous than for ſome months paſt; the inhabitants are ordered to turn ſcavengers, our ſtreets being exceedingly ſloppy and uncomfortable. The regiments are ordered to take up their dead, as the ſnow that hitherto covered them begins to diſſolve, and have them properly interred. Application is deſired to be made to the Quarter-Maſter-General for the remainder of the mogoſans in ſtore; and the order ſpecifies, that 'the ſoldiers are not 'to be charged for any they have received this winter, the Governor 'having made a preſent of them to the men, as a recompence for 'the great fatigue they had in ſleighing wood.' 1760. March.

Some days ago, Captain Hazen, and his rangers, being advanced in a houſe a little way to the north-weſt of Lorette, he ſent a ſpy out for intelligence; who returned ſoon after, and acquainted his Officer, that he ſaw a large party of the enemy, formed into two bodies, and filing off by two diſtinct roads; that, having narrowly watched their motions, he ſuſpected their intention might be to ſurround his poſt, and that they were not then at a great diſtance. Upon this information he left a Serjeant and fourteen men in the houſe, and marched with the remainder, to ſollicit a reinforcement of an Officer and twenty privates at Lorette church; in his route he ſpied the enemy not far from them, whereupon he told his rangers, he thought they had better return to their houſe, as they could reach that poſt much ſooner than the church; but his men nobly refuſed, ſaying, 'Sir, lead us on, and rely upon us: the regulars have April. From the 1ſt. to the 5th.

'diſplayed

1760. April. 'displayed prodigies of valour this winter on many occaſions; we 'will fight and chace the enemy, as they have done, or die.' — Here is a notable inſtance of emulation and bravery in our ſimply honeſt New-England-Men, who, feeling *quite bold* or *ſpry*, — that morning (according to their own phraſe) were, by their Captain's report, unanimous for fighting. Accordingly they advanced, very ſpiritedly, to the enemy, who were endeavouring to ſteal upon them; gave them a regular diſcharge of a brace of balls, beſides buck-ſhot from each piece, and ſent them flying. By this time Mr. Hazen, hearing ſome ſtraggling ſhots in his rear, faced his men about, who were again loaded; charged and routed, in like manner, a ſecond body of fifty men. Thus elated by this wonderful deliverance, they purſued the fugitives, who they perceived were retiring towards the houſe, not ſuſpecting any people were poſted there, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of it; the Captain thereupon, knowing they would be well received, moved leiſurely after them. The Serjeant, who expected they would pay him a viſit, coolly reſerved his fire until they came within fifteen or ſixteen yards, and then let fly at them ſo expectedly, that they turned tail with the greateſt precipitation; the Captain, hearing the fire, advanced briſkly to ſuſtain his Serjeant, who, ſeeing his friends approaching, ſallied out in purſuit of the runaways, and the whole company immediately puſhed after them for near two miles, and took ſome wounded men who were not able to eſcape; the rangers, not chuſing to run the riſk of ſtaining that honour they had ſo deſervedly acquired, diſcontinued the chace, returned to their houſe, which they ſet on fire; and then, with their captives, marched back to Lorette church without any farther annoyance. The enemy had ſix men killed, and the priſoners, who were ſeven in number, were all wounded; what farther miſchief was done we know not, but the rangers had only three wounded: the priſoners ſay, that they hoped to have ſurpriſed that ſmall corps, and afterwards to cut off the wood-fellers from the foreſt of St. Foy. The detail of the guards, on the 1ſt inſtant,

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ſtands thus : ‘ Three Captains, thirteen Subalterns, forty-one Ser- 1760.
‘ jeants, thirty-one Corporals, ſeventeen Drummers, and five hun- April.
‘ dred and twenty-ſix privates.’ M. Bourlemacque, with four hundred regulars and a body of militia, are ſaid to be arrived at Jacques Cartier, with a reſpectable field-artillery; this has cauſed the light infantry to march out under the Adjutant-General, who is to be followed by the grenadiers and picquets, at a moment's warning; four pieces of cannon and two howitzers are drawn down to Port St. John, to be in readineſs. Our weather is again changed to a ſettled froſt, though the ſun is agreeably warm for the greateſt part of the forenoon. The ſecond and third battalions of royal Americans were reviewed by the Governor. The regiments are to receive rum for ſuch of their recovering men as their Surgeons ſhall certify it fit for. The detaching the light infantry, and the other warlike preparations before-mentioned, was a *fineſſe* to amuſe the enemy, the Adjutant-General having returned late on the night of the ſame day he marched out; nevertheleſs, the grenadiers and picquets ſtill remain under orders to march at the ſhorteſt notice. The covering party, faſcine-makers, and others, are ordered to parade, for the future, at ſix in the morning.

It is certain that a French frigate-built ſhip, laden with ſtores From the
and proviſions, who attempted to paſs the town laſt November, is 6th.
frozen up in the bay of Gaſpée, at the mouth of this river; and to the
that her crew, with ſome regular ſoldiers who were on board, have 17th.
deſerted her. A violent ſtorm has broken up the ice in the river. M. Bourlemacque, with three regiments of regulars and a body of militia, came down lately to Cape Rouge, and had ſuch good intelligence from hence, that, the night of that day on which our light infantry marched out, and the grenadiers, with the picquets, were ordered in readineſs, the enemy lay on their arms, and advanced two companies of grenadiers to prevent a ſurpriſe; the latter were in a ſhort ſpace of time alarmed by the firing of their main body, who, ſuſpecting, as the night was dark, that they were Britiſh, fired

1760. April. upon them; the others, thinking themſelves ſurrounded, returned the ſalute, whereby a general confuſion and ſkirmiſh enſued: at length the main body retired, and the grenadiers purſued them; but ſome wounded men, who were on the ground, having begged for quarter in their own language, diſcovered the fatal miſtake: the victors then ſhouted after their fugitive friends to halt for them; that they would undeceive them; and that no enemy was near them. Matters were now ſoon ſet right, and, the day beginning to dawn, they buried their dead, hired ſleighs for their wounded, and returned to Jacques Cartier, much chagrined at the diſaſter that had happened. This would have been kept a profound ſecret, were it not for a Serjeant of their grenadiers, who, upon ſome diſguſt or ill uſage from his Captain, deſerted to us, and has given this information; nine men were killed, and thirteen wounded. Our weather, as in moſt other climates at this ſeaſon, is very uncertain; we have froſt, rain, ſnow, ſevere and mild, with high winds alternately. A detachment of light infantry marched to Cape Rouge, to watch the motions of the enemy. The Captain's guard at the fortified houſe is now reduced to the command of a Subaltern. The rangers ſurpriſed a patrole of the enemy, conſiſting of a Serjeant and three privates of the regiment of Languedoc, and ſeven Canadians in French uniforms; one of the regulars eſcaped; the other ten were brought in. Our ſloops of war are preparing to launch, as the river is much opened, and large floats of ice are daily rolling down with the current. An Officer of the fifty-eigh th regiment was interred on the 16th, who died of a pleuritic fever. The parties, who have been employed in cutting and making faſcines, are now diſmiſſed that ſervice.

ORDERS.

"The viſible effects of the ſpruſs, or hemlock-ſpruce, which has "been given, for ſome time, to the ſcorbutic men in the hoſpitals, "put it beyond doubt, that it muſt alſo be the beſt preſerva-

"tive

" tive againſt the ſcurvy; and, as the lives of brave ſoldiers are 1760. April.
" ever to be regarded with the utmoſt attention, it is ordered that
" the regiments be provided with a ſufficient quantity of that par-
" ticular ſpruce, which each corps muſt ſend for occaſionally; and
" it is to be made into a liquor, according to the method with
" which the Surgeons are already acquainted; and Commanding
" Officers muſt be anſwerable that their men drink of this liquor,
" at leaſt twice every day, mixed with their allowance of rum."

We have the happineſs to ſee our men on the recovery, though they as yet gain ground very ſlowly. This is attributed to the virtues of the hemlock-ſpruce, which is a particular ſpecies, and an excellent antiſcorbutic; it has been recommended and drank in the hoſpitals for ſome time paſt, and was diſcovered by an old Canadian Empiric, for which he was ſuitably rewarded. The tops of this ſpruce are ordered 'to be well bruiſed, and put into a large tub, 'with as much boiling water poured on as will cover them; they 'muſt remain twenty-four hours before uſed, in which time they 'muſt be frequently ſtirred up:' of this infuſion, when ſtrained off, the men in the hoſpitals were injoined to drink, at leaſt, three pints per day, and bathe ſuch parts of their limbs as were affected by the ſcurvy with ſome of the liquor made warm; the duty-men, and thoſe who get rum, are obliged to drink it in ſuch manner as is mentioned in the foregoing orders. This ſpruce is very different from that of which our common beverage is made, called by us ſpruce-beer; the leaves of it are exceedingly ſmall, dark-coloured, and criſp to the touch, not much unlike the juniper-tree; and it is more dwarfiſh than any other ſpecies of ſpruce: I taſted ſome of the infuſion, which had a compound flavour, (I could not tell what to compare it to) and was a very ſtrong bitter; it is eſteemed one of the greateſt purifiers of the blood, and I am much prepoſſeſſed in favour of it for gouty conſtitutions. — Several of the inhabitants have informed me, that a very unuſual mortality has prevailed among them this winter, having buried between fifty and ſixty of

1760. April. both ſexes, ſince our army marched into Quebec. Fifty days' proviſions are iſſued out to the Officers of each corps. The ſoldiers of each regiment, who are appointed to exerciſe the artillery, are, for the future, only to attend that ſervice. The Governor has moſt ſeaſonably ordered four gallons of French brandy to be delivered to each Subaltern Officer who chuſes it, upon his paying the like quantity of New-England rum into the ſtores, whenever the ſhips arrive; the Quarter-Maſters are to receive the brandy, and paſs their receipts for it. Wood-cutting, ſleighing, with other duties of fatigue, covering parties, and hunting detachments, as heretofore, without intermiſſion. Weather variable.

18th. A report prevails to-day, that this garriſon will actually, in a ſhort time, be beſieged by the whole force of Canada; that the French Generals are only waiting until the upper river is clear of ice, that their veſſels and ſmall craft may fall down by water, with artillery, ſtores, and other implements requiſite for the occaſion. We are drawing ſome large cannon with ammunition, carts, carriages, and waggons, out of the arſenals; the light infantry marched to-day, and took poſt at the entrance of the river Cape Rouge. The Governor aſſembled the Field-Officers, and deſired them to acquaint the Officers of their reſpective corps, in confidence, 'that, in the 'ſpace of ſeven days, all the French inhabitants, except the reli-'gious orders, will be diſmiſſed the town, of which they will have 'only forty-eight hours' notice. That the Officers are injoined in 'the ſtricteſt ſecrecy; this being communicated to them, that they 'may, in the interim, provide themſelves as well as they can with 'freſh, or live-ſtock proviſions.' *If farther particulars were imparted to the Field-Officers, reſpecting the ſituation of affairs at this juncture, they never tranſpired.* Soft open weather, inclining to rain.

19th. and 20th. M. de Levis, at the head of an army of twelve thouſand men, with a fleet of ſeven frigates and ſloops under M. Vaugeulin, Chef d'Eſcadre, are actually preparing, with all expedition, to execute the impending ſtroke with which this garriſon has been menaced

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theſe ſix months paſt and upwards; we are told they have preſerved ſixty days' full allowance of proviſions for the regulars of this army, in ſupport of their important enterpriſe. At the ſame time it is pretended, that the Canadians have refuſed to ſerve, until they ſee what aſſiſtance France will ſend them, or which of the two fleets will firſt enter the river St. Lawrence; this, however, does not gain credit. If it ſhould appear requiſite, ſome of the moſt inſignificant houſes in the lower town, and ſuburb of St. Rocque, are to be demoliſhed after the departure of the citizens, and the timber applied to the uſe of the troops for fuel. Two large field-pieces, with a quantity of ammunition, are ordered to be drawn out to Lorette; the roads being at this time rendered impaſſable for horſes by the maſs of diſſolving ſnow that covers them, the ſoldiers are under the neceſſity of performing that ſervice. Two deſerters are come in from the colony troops; they confirm what we heard before, reſpecting the ſaving of two months' proviſions, and ſome brandy, for the uſe of the regular troops in this expedition. For theſe two days our weather very agreeable. 1760. April.

At ten o'clock this morning, a proclamation was fixed up at all public places, acquainting the inhabitants, that the enemy are preparing to beſiege us; that they muſt therefore quit the town, with their families and effects; and not preſume to re-enter until farther orders; for this purpoſe three times twenty-four hours are allowed them to remove. This has cauſed immenſe confuſion and diſcomfort among theſe poor people, who are, notwithſtanding the urgent neceſſity of this procedure, greatly to be commiſerated for all their ſufferings. A Lieutenant of the thirty-fifth regiment, who was formerly in the ſea-ſervice, is appointed to the command of a ſchooner, which has this day fallen down to Orleans, to undergo ſome repairs, and be fitted out for an expreſs; a Maſter and ſix ſailors, from one of our ſloops of war, with twenty ſea-bred ſoldiers, two pieces of cannon, and a number of ſwivels, &c. &c. are taken on board; this veſſel is ordered to reconnoitre the river, and proceed to 21ſt.

1760. April. to Halifax to haſten up our fleet, in caſe they have not yet ſailed, by acquainting the Admiral or Commodore of our precarious ſituation, together with the ſtrength of the enemy's ſquadron in the upper river. Twelve guns were heard at break of day this morning, which cauſes it to be ſurmiſed that there is a fleet in the river. The French begin to appear numerous in the vicinity of Cape Rouge and Lorette; they threw up a rocket laſt night; their motive we are unacquainted with, except it was done to amuſe us, or as a ſignal for their ſhips, and the remainder of their army to follow them. There are more detachments marching out with artillery ſtores, which is a work of much difficulty, the roads being extremely deep and fluid. The command at St. Foy is reduced to a Subaltern's party. A return of the French Bakers in each diſtrict is ordered to be ſent to the head quarters, that they may be permitted to remain in town; in the evening the inhabitants were advertiſed to lodge all their effects and moveables in the chapel of the Recollects, if they chuſe it; where the Governor aſſures them they ſhall be taken care of. Soft gloomy weather, inclining to rain, and very cold.

22d. Part of the light infantry, who returned here yeſterday, marched out again early this morning. A party of men, who were making faſcines in the neighbourhood of our advanced poſts, were nearly being way-laid; but, being appriſed of the intentions of the enemy, detached an expreſs to the light infantry and rangers, who were not far diſtant, to come to their relief: they arrived critically, and engaged M. Herbin, who commanded a large advanced-guard, with ſuch vigour, that, after a ſmart rencounter, the enemy were once more routed, with much loſs, having dragged off two ſleighs with killed and wounded;—among the former were a Serjeant and an Indian, which, with five priſoners, they left behind them; we had one man killed and three wounded. Our light troops, having purſued them, and drove them from a poſt they occupied, had the good fortune to intercept ſome black cattle, and a number of pigs, beſides

a ſword and ſilver goblet, or drinking-cup, of the Officers, which alſo fell into the hands of the victors. Two field-pieces are ordered out to our detachments in that quarter, eſcorted by half the picquets of the army. It is reported, with ſome confidence, either by ourſelves, or by the citizens on the part of the enemy, that a fleet of ſhips are at l'Iſle de Bic; but, as they have not yet diſplayed any colours, it is not known whether they are French or Britiſh: the abſurdity of ſuch a rumour is too evident, as every man in this army knows full well, that the Canadians of the north and ſouth ſhores, oppoſite to that iſland, may, as matters are circumſtanced, go on board the ſhips of either nation, without the ſmalleſt apprehenſions of being detained or moleſted. We have the happineſs to ſee our troops daily gaining ground of their diſorders. Various ſchemes are now talked of being ſpeedily executed; particularly, that half of the garriſon are to be intrenched on the plains, where we fought and drubbed the enemy on the memorable 13th of September. 1760. April.

The armed ſchooner, being completely equipped, ſailed this day from Orleans, with a fair wind. Cold rainy weather. The grenadiers of the army, with the following regiments, are ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to take the field, viz. the fifteenth, twenty-eighth, forty-ſeventh, fifty-eighth, and third battalion of the ſixtieth; theſe corps are made choice of, being the ſtrongeſt and moſt healthy. The fleet ſaid to be in the river, it is now pretended, had worked up as high as Coudre, but, by the quantities of floating ice, were obliged to fall down again to the iſles of Bic and Barnaby; it is added, that they have hoiſted red, white, blue, yellow, and chequered colours. Various fires are made upon the eminences of the north ſhore below Orleans, which were the ſignals obſerved by the natives upon the arrival of our armament laſt year in this river. 23d.

The wretched citizens have evacuated the town: it is impoſſible to avoid ſympathiſing with them in their diſtreſs. The men prudently reſtrained their ſentiments on this occaſion, but the women were not ſo diſcreet; they charged us with a breach of the capitu- From the 24th. to the 26th. incluſive.

‘ lation;

1760. April. lation; ſaid 'they had often heard, *que les Anglois ſont des gens ſans 'foi**; and that we have now convinced them of the propriety of that 'character.' They pretend, that there is not the ſmalleſt room to apprehend any diſturbance on the part of M. de Levis, and that, if the Governor would rely on them, he ſhould have the earlieſt intelligence of the motions of the enemy; and would ſubmit to any reſtrictions whatever, if he would permit them to remain in their habitations; moreover, if they, or any among them, ſhall preſume to betray us, they would anſwer it with the forfeiture, not only of all their effects, but alſo of their lives. Overtures to this purpoſe, we are informed, have been made to the General; but his Excellency is not to be impoſed upon by any ſuch *bagatelles* arguments, or *Gallic* rhethoric. We have demoliſhed the bridges over the river St. Michael, near Cape Rouge; our light infantry continue in that neighhood, to watch the motions of the enemy. M. Herbin is ſaid to be diſmiſſed the French ſervice, for his repeated miſcarriages in the different attacks and ſkirmiſhes that happened between him and us in the courſe of this winter; we are told he voluntarily commanded the advanced guard of their army in the neighbourhood of Cape Rouge, with a view to retrieve his character, for the ſhameful part he acted at Calvaire. We have alſo razed our poſt at Lorette, and the detachment that kept it are fallen back to St. Foy. A number of Caulkers are demanded from the regiments, to repair our ſloops of war and ſmall craft, for which the order ſays, "they ſhall be well paid." All the different fatiguing parties are to work from nine o'clock until noon, and from two till ſix in the evening. A Serjeant, expert in faſcine-laying, is appointed to attend Major M'Kellar, our Chief Engineer. The regiments are deſired to give in immediately, to the Quarter-Maſter-General, a return of the camp-equipage wanting for their preſent numbers who are able and fit for duty. A company of volunteers are ordered to be formed inſtantly, to conſiſt of one of Captain,

* That the Engliſh, or Britiſh, are a faithleſs people.

four

four Subalterns, six Serjeants, six Corporals, four Drummers, and one hundred privates; (the Officers are Captain D. M'Donald of the seventy-eighth, Lieutenant Grant of the third battalion of the sixtieth, Lieutenant Farquar of the forty-seventh, Lieutenant Crofton of the forty-eighth, and Ensign Maw of the forty-third regiment. We had violent thunder and lightning this evening, surpassing any thing of the kind that has been known in this country for many years; and was succeeded by a most tremendous storm of wind and rain, threatening desolation to trees, houses, &c. the river was so agitated by this uncommon storm, which came from the south-east quarter, as effectually to tear up and disperse all the remaining ice: 'It being represented by the Officers, that the men drink snow-water, 'which must be very prejudicial to their health, the Governor has 'judiciously ordered the regiments to be completed with canteens 'from the stores; and the men for work to have an extraordinary 'jill of rum, which the Adjutants are injoined to see mixed in a 'canteen of sweet water, that each man is to be provided with, 'when he parades for fatigue.' 1760. April.

About two o'clock this morning the watch on board the Race-horse sloop of war in the dock, hearing a distressful noise on the river, acquainted Captain M'Cartny therewith, who instantly ordered out his boat, which shortly after returned with a man whom they found almost famished on a float of ice; notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken of him, it was above two hours before he was able to give an account of himself; when the terrors of his mind had subsided, and he could speak, he gave his deliverer the following intelligence: 'That he is a Serjeant of the French 'artillery, who, with six other men, were put into a floating bat-'tery of one eighteen-pounder; that his batteau overset in the great 'storm above-mentioned, and his companions he supposes are drown-'ed; that he swam and scrambled, alternately, through number-'less floats of ice, until he fortunately met with a large one, on 'which, though with great difficulty, he fixed himself; that he lay 27th.

1760. April. 'on it for ſeveral hours; paſſed the town with the tide of ebb, 'which carried him near to St. Lawrence's church on the iſland 'of Orleans; and was driving up again with the tide of flood, 'at the time that our boat happily came to his relief.' He added, 'that the French ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeveral frigates, armed 'ſloops, and other craft, ſuch as *galiotes*, floating batteries, and 'batteaus innumerable, laden with ammunition, artillery, proviſions, 'intrenching-tools, and ſtores of all kinds, were coming down 'to the Foulon, at Sillery; where they were to meet the army 'under M. de Levis and M. Bourlemacque, amounting to twelve 'thouſand men at leaſt, though many people computed them at 'fifteen. — That their fleet, particularly the ſmall craft, were 'ſeparated by the ſtorm, and he believes many of them are loſt, 'by the number of different articles which he ſaw floating down 'with him, and ſeveral guns he heard, and ſuppoſes may be ſignals 'of diſtreſs from their larger veſſels.' He ſays farther, 'that they 'are made to believe they will be reinforced by a powerful fleet 'and army from France, before an Engliſh ſhip can enter the river; 'and they are in daily expectation of a frigate laden with ammuni-'tion and ſtores, that has wintered at Gaſpée.' — His ſtory being told, Captain M'Cartney immediately conducted him in a ſailor's hammock up to the Governor, to whom he recounted all the fore-going particulars; whereupon his Excellency gave the command in the town to Colonel Fraſer, and he, with the Lieutenant-Governor, marched out at the head of the grenadiers of the army, the five regiments under orders of readineſs for the field, and the picquets for the garriſon, to ſuſtain the light infantry and rangers, who are already advanced. This large detachment, which compoſed the greateſt part of our forces, took ten ſix-pounders and a proportionable quantity of ammunition with them. The remainder of the troops were inſtantly paraded, and marched down to St. John's Gate, prepared to puſh out, in caſe circumſtances ſhould require it.

Moderate

Moderate weather, with a thick and cold misting rain. The light troops exchanged several shot with the enemy, but they kept at so great a distance that it availed nothing: the Governor formed the line of battle on an advantageous piece of ground beyond St. Foy, and endeavoured to invite them to action; in which they seemed as if inclined to indulge him, and afterwards retired to the woods behind them, hoping, by various stratagems to decoy our troops to follow them. Their cavalry and savages made frequent ostentatious displays by repeated countermarches. 1760. April.

Within the skirts of their cover, sometimes in large and at other times in small divisions to appear more numerous, yet they would not advance, though within the distance of our artillery, which galled them immensely; for they were frequently thrown into confusion, and seen to drag off many killed and disabled men. At length the Governor, perceiving they were only trifling and protracting time, gave order for the demolition of our post at the church, and, after the performance thereof, marched back his forces to the garrison, without any other accident, in the course of the day, than having two men slightly wounded; the enemy affected to pursue them in their march, but our field-pieces obliged them to keep aloof; and the flanks of the line were were so well covered by the light troops, that they could not make the least impression: so that they contented themselves with firing and shouting at a great distance. The army, being extremely harrassed, and wet with a constant soaking rain, were allowed an extraordinary jill of rum per man; and some old houses at St. Rocque were pulled down to provide them with fire-wood, in order to dry their clothes. We have also withdrawn our posts from Point Levi, and burned the two blockhouses that had been erected there. All the British Merchants were reviewed, and, at their own request, formed into an independent company of volunteers, to be commanded by Lieutenant Grant, of the fifty-eighth regiment; this gentleman they particularly made choice of, and they, including their ser-

1760. April. vants, are about one hundred in number. The ſick and wounded of our garriſon, who are capable of uſing their arms, are to have their firelocks, bayonets, and ammunition near them in readineſs, and all the troops are to be quite alert and prepared to turn out, or march out, at a moment's warning. The naval armament of the enemy are fallen down to Cape Rouge; and they pretend that there are four French topſail veſſels below at the Traverſe.

BATTTE of SILLERY.

Monſieur de Levis, and his army, occupied the village and neighbourhood of St. Foy laſt night, and his advanced poſts poſſeſſed the coppice contiguous to the general hoſpital; early this morning our light troops puſhed out, and, with little difficulty, drove them to a greater diſtance:

'Tis not in mortals to command ſucceſs,
But we'll do more, —— we'll deſerve it.

28th. About ſeven o'clock our army marched out to the heights of Abraham, with a reſpectable artillery, conſiſting of eighteen pieces of cannon, viz. two twelve-pounders, with ſixteen ſix-pounders, and two howitzers; we alſo carried out our tools, as if intending to intrench ourſelves, and cover the town; which ſeemed to be the ſole reſolution taken by the Governors, previous to our march. Upon coming to our ground, we deſcried the enemy's van on the eminences of the woods of Sillery, and the bulk of their army to the right marching along the road of St. Foy, inclining, as they advanced, in order to conceal themſelves. Upon this diſcovery, and our line being already formed, the troops were ordered to throw down their intrenching-tools and march forward, this being deemed the deciſive moment to attack them, in hopes of reaping every

every advantage that could be expected over an army not yet thoroughly arranged. In consequence of this resolution, our forces advanced with great alacrity; the forty-eighth regiment, the fifteenth, and second battalion of the sixtieth, forming the right brigade, under Colonel Burton; the twenty-eighth, seventy-eighth, and forty-seventh, the left under Colonel Fraser; the fifty-eighth was the right center corps, and the forty-third the left center, commanded by Colonel James. The second line was composed of the thirty-fifth, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, drawn up, to appear more numerous, two deep. — Our right flank was covered by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry, and our left by the company of volunteers and rangers, under their respective Commandants, Captains M'Donald and Hazen. The artillery were placed occasionally, in front, in the intervals, or on the flanks, as circumstances might require, commanded by Major Godwin, and assisted by Major M'Kellar, our chief Engineer. Thus did our little army advance, weak, in point of numbers, when compared with that of the French, but powerful in every other respect; and having an enemy to encounter, who, by frequent experience and repeated trials, were unaccustomed to stand long before us. Our field-pieces were exceedingly well served, and did amazing execution; as soon as we came within the range of musketry, the light infantry attacked the French grenadiers on the left of their army, and routed them: at the same instant the volunteers and rangers engaged their right, repulsed them in like manner, and possessed themselves of a redoubt occupied before by the enemy; the center posts, seeing their right and left give way, fled without firing a shot. Whilst we gained this small advantage over their van, the main body of their army advanced with great expedition, completely formed in columns, in spite of the utmost efforts exerted on our part to prevent them; one of these columns came, without loss of time, to sustain their flying grenadiers, now pursued by our light infantry, who, being overpowered with great loss, retired to the rear, and

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were

1760. April. were of little ſervice afterwards; the enemy, profiting thereby, inſtantly wheeled round ſome riſing grounds, and charged our right wing vigorouſly in flank, while M. de Levis, with another diviſion, made the like movement on our left, and then the action became obſtinate on both ſides. The General immediately ordered the thirty-fifth from the ſecond line, to ſupport our right wing; and the third battalion of the ſixtieth the left, who acquitted themſelves with great honour. Quebec being the grand object, the enemy ſeemed regardleſs of our center, hoping, if they could out-flank us, they would be able to get between us and our garriſon; and this it was that attracted their greateſt attention. They ſuſtained their right and left wings with freſh reinforcements; and Fortune, who appeared for ſome time undetermined on whom to confer her laurel, at length inclined to the more numerous army. The enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of two redoubts upon our left, which gave them a great advantage; but, by an excellent movement of the forty-third regiment, ordered by Colonel James, from the center, to ſupport the third battalion of Americans on the left, both theſe corps made a vigorous effort to recover thoſe works, and ſucceeded; they maintained them for ſome time with admirable firmneſs, but, at length being reduced to a handful, they were compelled to yield to ſuperior numbers. In the courſe of the action we were inſenſibly drawn from our advantageous ſituation into low ſwampy ground, where our troops fought almoſt knee-deep in diſſolving wreaths of ſnow and water, whence it was utterly impracticable to draw off our artillery under thoſe unhappy circumſtances, after this infeebled army had performed prodigies of valour, exceeding all deſcription; having the whole force of the country to contend with, and our communication with the town in danger of being intercepted, we were obliged to give up the conteſt. The troops being ordered to fall back, a command they were hitherto unacquainted with, as if ſenſible of the critical poſture of our affairs, they drew a natural concluſion; and, growing impatient, ſome of them

cried out, *Damn it, what is falling back but retreating?* The inference was immediately communicated to the whole, and accordingly put in execution. This diſcomfit was however ſo regularly conducted, that the enemy did not purſue with that ſpirit which the vaſt importance of their victory required; the truth was, they were very roughly handled; and from their loſſes, which fell moſtly upon the flower of their army, they were heartily ſick of it. The action was immenſely warm for near two hours, and we had eleven hundred, of all ranks, killed, wounded, and priſoners; the enemy, by their own acknowledgement, loſt conſiderably above that number; and I am induced to think, if the invalids of our garriſon had been able, or one thouſand freſh men only could have been brought up to ſuſtain us, we ſhould not have quartered within the town this night, nor permitted our antagoniſts to incamp ſo near us; for they loſt no time in intrenching themſelves, within nine hundred yards of our walls. The ſtrength of our army, in the morning was three thouſand one hundred and forty; and that of the enemy amounted to fifteen thouſand, as we have been informed priſoners and deſerters; though by a ſtate which I ſaw, and was copied from a return in the poſſeſſion of M. Vaugeulin, the French Commodore, they made eighteen thouſand, viz. *troupes de France*, five thouſand; *de la colonie*, three thouſand; *milice*, eight thouſand five hundred; Acadians and ſavages, thirteen hundred; cannoniers, &c. two hundred *.

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In the evening returns were called for of the effectives we had taken into the field, and thoſe who were killed and wounded, &c. The guards are reduced to one Captain, ſeven Subalterns, with the like number of Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers, and one

* I cannot think but this return muſt be exaggerated; the copy I received from Captain David Maitland, of the forty-third regiment, who was made priſoner on the 28th, and, on the 29th, was, with others, ſent on board the Commodore to be tranſmitted to Montreal. This worthy Officer is ſince dead, and moſt deſervedly regretted by all his acquaintances.

hundred

1760. April. hundred and fifty privates; thoſe who mounted yeſterday were not relieved until night-fall; we annoy the enemy as much as poſſible with ſhot and ſhell, and our advanced blockhouſe has great command of their works. Our weather, in the whole courſe of this unlucky day, bas been exceedingly mild and pleaſant. All the men, and Officers off duty, are ordered to parade for fatigue at five o'clock to-morrow-morning. Late this night the Governor iſſued out the following orders:

ORDERS.

"The 28th of April has been unfortunate to the Britiſh arms, but "affairs are not ſo deſperate as to be irretrievable; the General often "experienced the bravery of the troops he now commands, and is very "ſenſible they will endeavour to regain what they have loſt; the fleet "may be hourly expected, reinforcements are at hand; and ſhall we "loſe, in one moment, the fruits of ſo much blood and treaſure? Both "Officers and men are exhorted patiently to undergo the fatigues they "muſt ſuffer, and to expoſe themſelves chearfully to ſome dangers; a "duty they owe to their KING, their COUNTRY, and THEMSELVES."

The BRITISH GARRISON of QUEBEC beſieged.

29th. The enemy's fleet have fallen down to the Foulon by Sillery, and their boats are continually employed in landing their ſtores, artillery, and proviſions. The army have thrown up a line of countervallation this night: their right extending to the Foulon, and their left towards St. Charles's river, beyond our chain of blockhouſes; by their attention to one particular ſpot, oppoſite to St. Lewis's baſtion, we ſuſpect they are erecting a battery, having provided a quantity of faſcines and gabions for that purpoſe. We are opening embraſures in the curtains for cannon, reveſting the parapet

parapet wall with faſcine-work; and our Carpenters are employed in preparing and laying platforms for guns. The enemy have brought up a piece of ordnance to bear upon our large advanced blockhouſe, being much annoyed at their work by the fire of its artillery. Soft, open weather, with little wind and variable. — The women are all ordered to cook for, and attend, the men at work with their victuals; alſo to nurſe the ſick and wounded. The Officers are deſired to be very circumſpect in keeping the men ſober; their rum to be continually mixed with water, in the preſence of an Officer. The men for duty are directed to parade with their canteens of rumbo, and always twenty-four hours' proviſions ready dreſſed. In caſe the enemy ſhould beat a parley, the Officer, commanding the neareſt guard, is injoined to ſend out an Officer, with a drum, to meet him, as far as poſſible from the place. Two hundred men are appointed to do duty with the artillery, to receive their orders from that corps, and to parade at one o'clock at the Jeſuits' College; the guards are alſo to parade, at the ſame hour, in the uſual place. Three men are ſlightly wounded by ſplinters at the advanced blockhouſe, which the enemy have much inſulted by double-headed ſhot. The Officers of guards are ordered to be very attentive, and ſend the General early notice, when they obſerve any of the enemy approaching, or any thing elſe extraordinary that may happen. The regiments are deſired to remove their ſick from the convents, and ſettle them in houſes appointed for them by the Quarter-Maſter-General. The Adjutants are directed to ſend in, as ſoon as poſſible, a return of their preſent ſtrength, fit for duty, of Subalterns, Serjeants, Drummers, rank and file, comprehending volunteers and light infantry. All the Officers and men off duty to parade again, at three o'clock this afternoon, on the grand parade for work. By a ſubſequeut order the volunteers and light infantry are to do duty with, and join, their reſpective corps. Both men and women are to have a larger allowance of proviſions iſſued to them. Two Surgeons and five Mates, belonging to the regiments, are appointed to the hoſpitals.

1760. April.

1760. April. The guards are to mount, for the future, at ſix o'clock in the evening; and new alarm-poſts are made choice of for the regiments. Eight Captains' guards mounted this day. Smart firing between the blockhouſe and the enemy.

30th. Enſign Maw, of the forty-third regiment, with two non-commiſſioned and twenty volunteers, ſallied out laſt night, hoping to get a priſoner for intelligence; but unfortunately, his ſight not being equal in goodneſs to his ſpirit and ability, he fell into the enemy's hands, and ſix of his men were killed and wounded. The French are forwarding their works with great diligence, notwithſtanding the warm ſalutations they receive from our cannon and mortars; we ſhall ſhortly be able to open a continual line of fire from Cape Diamond down to the hangman's redoubt. The advanced blockhouſe blew up this morning, by a ſpark falling on ſome looſe powder, which communicated with their magazine: the Officers and men ſuffered conſiderably, but no lives were loſt. The troops fit for duty, by the returns made to the head quarters, amount to two thouſand and one hundred, and no more: they incamped this evening at the alarm-poſts. Frequent flags of truce paſs and repaſs between us and the enemy, for neceſſaries for our Officers who are priſoners; they are treated with great politeneſs, and are to be ſent to Montreal for their better accommodation. Immenſe irregularities are hourly committed by the ſoldiery, in break-open ſtore and dwelling houſes to get at liquor: this is ſeemingly the reſult of panic and deſpair, heightened by drunkenneſs; one man was hanged this evening *in terrorem*, without any trial, which it is hoped will effectually prevent farther diſorders, and influence the ſoldiers to a lively ſenſe of their duty. Fine weather, wind at S. E. but ſcanty. Returns are called for of the names of ſuch Officers as were killed and wounded on the unfortunate twenty-eighth; and a report is ordered to be made by each regiment, to the Adjutant-General, of any caſualties that may happen in the courſe

of

of the ſiege, among the commiſſioned, non-commiſſioned Officers, and private men; wherein the names of the former are to be ſpecified. Eight Captains' guards mounted this night, and the orderly hours are at nine in the morning, and immediately after guard-mounting in the evening. 1760. April.

The Racehorſe frigate ſailed this morning with a fair wind and pleaſant weather, for Louiſbourg and Halifax, in order to haſten up a fleet and ſuccours to our relief. A ſoldier, who was made priſoner laſt campaign, eſcaped from Montreal, and came into town this night; he ſays that country is left almoſt deſolate, the whole force of Canada being engaged in this enterpriſe; and he has been informed, that the enemy loſt ſome of their beſt artillery, with a great quantity of ammunition and other ſtores, by the late ſtorm; which diſperſed their fleet, overſet ſome of their ſtore-veſſels, and ſtaved others to pieces. (This is a moſt remarkable inſtance of the kind interpoſition of Providence, in behalf of the troops of this garriſon and the Britiſh arms in America.) It being of the utmoſt conſequence at preſent, the Governor injoins all Officers to attend the men on every kind of fatigue, and keep them cloſe to their work. Any Officers who chuſe to go volunteers upon *ſorties* *, are deſired to give in their names at the head quarters, and his Excellency promiſes to recommend them to his Majeſty; any Serjeant who chuſes to go volunteer upon the like ſervice, and can find twelve men, alſo volunteers, will be well rewarded. In conſequence of this intimation, two or three Serjeants only, and a few privates, did offer themſelves; but not one commiſſioned Officer ſhewed any inclination to go out of his own proper turn: the ſenſe of the gentlemen upon the publication of this order was, that, if the General ſhould think proper to command a corps, large detachment, or ſmall a party, from any particular regiment, to ſally out, they were ready and willing chearfully to May 1ſt.

* A party that ſallies out of a town ſecretly, to annoy the beſiegers and retard their operations.

1760. May. execute his Excellency's orders, to the utmoſt of their power, in their regular tour of duty. We maintain a briſk fire on the enemy's works, which are nevertheleſs in great forwardneſs.

ORDERS.

" In order to eaſe the troops as much as poſſible, the General " is pleaſed to order that only one half of the men off duty ſhall " work at a time, with the ſame proportion of Officers to overſee " and forward whatever may be neceſſary for the honour of our " King and Country, and to be relieved every ſix hours; the men " coming off work are not to quit until the relief comes. The " working-parties to be diſmiſſed this day at half after one for " dinner; and half of the men, with their proportion of Officers, " to parade at half paſt two for work, and continue till relieved; " the mens' victuals to be always ready dreſſed for them about the " time of relief, that they may get their proper reſt; but thoſe " men, when off duty or fatigue, are never to ſtray from camp; " any women who are detected giving liquor to ſoldiers, upon any " account, will be moſt ſeverely puniſhed.

AFTER ORDERS.

" The women are commanded to remain in the barracks, and " there to cook the mens' victuals; men muſt work day and night; " the Commanding Officer of each working party is to ſtand half " an hour in relieving: a Corporal to conduct the relief to the " place he works at, and is to deliver over to the relieving Officer " the directions he receives from the Engineer; the working- " parties to be relieved this night at ten o'clock. Captain Addiſon " is appointed to act as Major to this garriſon,"

We

1760. May 2d.

We are exerting our moſt ſtrenuous efforts towards a vigorous defence both in the high and low town; and our men are thoroughly recovered from their late irregularities and deſpondent ſtate of mind. If the enemy have, or do ſtill entertain, thoughts of ſtorming the place, it ſeems now too late, and they have let ſlip a golden opportunity: had they followed their blow on the 28th, 29th, or 30th, before the ſoldiers recollected themſelves, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, notwithſtanding the active zeal and ſpirit of the Governors and Officers in general, Quebec would have reverted to its old maſters. We no longer harbour a thought of viſiting France or England, or of falling a ſacrifice to a mercileſs ſcalping knife. We are rouſed from our lethargy; we have recovered our good humour, our ſentiments for glory; and we ſeem, one and all, determined to defend our dearly purchaſed garriſon to the laſt extremity. Batteries are erecting to enfilade the road leading to the lower town; two noble cavaliers are begun upon the commanding rocky eminence between the citadel of Cape Diamond and Port St. Louis, which is a work of labour, the earth being borrowed from other places; and we are throwing up traverſes in different parts of the city. Fine weather to-day, the wind fluctuating between the S. W. and N. W. points, which is as perverſe as it can blow. We have opened more batteries, and maintain a heavy fire on the enemy's works; the General and Lieutenant-Governor viſit the guards and working parties frequently, to encourage the men, and influence them to diligence and alertneſs. — All the troops off duty are ordered to be at their alarm-poſts this day at one o'clock, and the convaleſcents, at the ſame hour, at the poſts allotted for them, with their arms and accoutrements. In caſe of an alarm, the guard which firſt obſerves the enemy approaching, is to beat to arms; and the Drummers of the other guards are to do the ſame, that it may be communicated through the whole garriſon. Each regiment is immediately to ſend an Officer to Citadel-hill to receive orders for the regiment; and all the fatigue-

1760. May. fatigue-parties are inſtantly to join their corps. The alarm-poſts aſſigned to the troops are as follow: the fifteenth regiment, at St. John's baſtion; the twenty-eighth, at St. Louis's baſtion; and the lower flank within the caſmate; the thirty-fifth between Otway's grenadier guard and Palace-gate; the forty-third, ſtockades by the citadel next Cape Diamond; the forty-ſeventh, Cape Diamond; the forty-eighth, lower —— baſtion, and the lower flank of the upper caſmate; the fifty-eighth, the —— baſtion, and the loop-holes behind their own regiments' barracks; the ſecond battalion of Royal Americans, Urſuline baſtion; the third battalion of Royal Americans, ſtockades about the citadel; the ſeventy-eighth, Citadel-hill; the grenadiers of the ten regiments upon Citadel-hill, who are to ſeparate from their regiments, and incamp there to-morrow, under the command of Major Addiſon. The alarm-poſts of the convaleſcents are the fifteenth, twenty-eighth, and fifty-eighth, between Palace-gate and Otway's grenadier guard; the thirty-fifth, and third battalion, between Otway's and the Biſhop's palace; the forty-third, Vaudreuil-houſe; the ſecond battalion, the nine gun-battery, and the ſtockade-work adjoining; the ſeventy-eighth, Barrier-hill guard, by the nine-gun battery, and the ſtockade-work adjoining; the forty-ſeventh and forty-eighth, the Biſhop's palace. The rangers are advanced every night between the town and the enemy's works, and return in the morning.

3d. Some of my readers, eſpecially thoſe who are unacquainted with military affairs, may be deſirous to know the neceſſity for the troops incamping within the walls of a town when beſieged; for their information, therefore, I ſhall only offer what naturally occurs to me upon this occaſion: it is impoſſible to have troops altogether ſo alert in quarters as in tents; for ſoldiers cannot take thoſe indulgences in camp which they may be too much induced to do in their barracks, where their bedding, &c. lie convenient for them. In the next place, by the extenſiveneſs of the garriſon, men could not be ſo ſoon aſ-

1760. May.

ſembled upon any ſudden emergency, as in a compact incampment, contiguous to their alarm-poſts, which will not admit of the leaſt confuſion or delay in turning out for ſervice; and, moreover, (a conſideration not unworthy of the greateſt General, and deſerved particular attention in our circumſtances) the troops are leſs expoſed to accidents and danger in tents than in houſes of ſtone, brick, or wood, as it is well known, that ſoldiers are ſubject to a greater number of caſualties from ſplinters than from ſhot or ſhell. Laſtly, the practice is neither unprecedented nor uncommon, where there is vacant ground, and the town is extenſive enough to admit of incamping; though there were ſome among us who affected to be of a different opinion, and that has partly induced me to offer my ſentiments, and to expreſs my approbation of this procedure. The fortified houſe was accidentally fired to-day by a wad from one of our own guns, which, communicating, by the freſhneſs of the wind, with the ſtockades and adjoining houſes, ſwept away almoſt that whole quarter of the town; luckily the Intendant's palace eſcaped the fury of the flames, though all his out-offices, with one of our blockhouſes which ſtood oppoſite to the *jettée*, the picquet-work contiguous thereto, together with ſome of our boats and naval ſtores, were deſtroyed; all the guards immediately turned out and beat to arms, the troops manned their alarm-poſts, and remained there for ſome hours *. As it was apprehended the enemy might ſeize this opportunity to ſtorm the place, and the centries ſeeing ſome motions in their camp, our batteries played inceſſantly upon them, obliging them to abandon their works, and retire from the range of our guns; at length two boats came down under a flag of truce, and the French, taking the advantage of the ceſſation, re-

* I never ſaw men ſo attentive to their duty, or more determined to make a vigorous defence, than our ſoldiers were at the time of this conflagration, in caſe the enemy had thought proper to attack us; we had not the leaſt noiſe or confuſion among us.

turned

1760. May. turned to their trenches, as did our troops, in like manner, to their reſpective occupations. Fine weather, though cool for the ſeaſon; wind unfavourable for ſhips to work up.

4th. A return of the grenadiers was called for to-day, ſpecifying thoſe only fit for duty. The women are not to be allowed to light fires in any of the barracks, or other buildings in their diſtricts, as houſes will be allotted for them near to each regiment's incampment for waſhing and cooking. The working parties, for the future, are always to carry their arms, and each corps a bell-tent, wherein to lodge them; the grenadiers are to do duty with their regiments, but fatigue by themſelves. Commanding Officers of regiments are to take care that the chimnies of cooking-houſes and the quarters of their convaleſcents are regularly ſwept, as they ſee the bad conſequences that may ariſe from a neglect of it; and, in caſe fire happens by ſuch neglect, the perſons occupying ſuch houſe are threatened with ſevere puniſhment. The Provoſt has received orders to hang all ſtragglers and marauders; it is once more injoined, that neither Officer nor ſoldier ſtir out of camp, except when upon duty; any man guilty of a breach of this order will be puniſhed in an examplary manner: it is again repeated, that half of the Officers off duty do attend the working parties, and keep their men cloſe to their buſineſs. The flag of truce, that came down yeſterday by water, was, on account of the Officers who are priſoners, to procure farther refreſhments and neceſſaries for them. Another was ſent to-day from the general hoſpital by the lower road; the purport of it was to convey ſome branches of the ſpruce-tree into town, to make beverage for the Governor's table: application was made for this favour before, and it was poſitively refuſed, from a notion that it was wanted for the uſe of the garriſon; as the ſpruce was accompanied with many polite compliments, his Excellency ſent M. de Levis a Cheſhire cheeſe in return. The troops are indefatigable in forwarding their work; and our batteries fire vigorouſly on the enemy, who remain very quiet in their camp and trenches; this

this inclines us to think that no meaſures will be taken on their part, until the arrival of a fleet. Wind ſtill perverſe, blowing freſh at W. N. W. 1760. May.

A French ſloop, from Sillery, paſſed our batteries laſt night undiſcovered, until ſhe was almoſt out of reach of our artillery, and ſailed down the river. M. Bourlemacque was wounded in the thigh on the 28th ultimo. An unlucky accident happened at one of our batteries, by ſome ſparks of fire having reached one of the cheſts of ammunition, which inſtantly blew up, and, communicating with the mens' arms, diſcharged ſome of them, whereby three ſoldiers received ſhot wounds; a Lieutenant and ſeveral others of the forty-third regiment were moſt ſeverely ſcorched; very fortunately the fire did not reach to another cheſt adjoining, which lay alſo open, and was full of loaded ſhells, ready for embaſſy; had the flaſh reached theſe infernal meſſengers, we ſhould probably have had a large breach made in the rampart, and loſt many lives. We had a ſmart froſt laſt night, and the air was extremely cold; the wind continues to blow down the river. The enemy have got another frigate at the Foulon, and their approaches were advanced this night within ſeven hundred yards of the Urſuline baſtion, under cover of a ſmall coppice oppoſite to that quarter; they are drawing cannon to-day from their camp to the trenches, ſo that we may ſoon expect to hear from them. We have mounted only five Captains' guards for ſome days; ten women per regiment are ordered immediately to join the artillery; they will be employed in ſowing up ſand-bags, and making wads from old junk for the guns; their names are to be ſent to the head quarters, as they will be paid for their labour. The guards are not to pay any compliments, during the ſiege, except to the rounds; and the Officers commanding guards are ordered to be extremely punctual in having their men under arms every morning, one hour at leaſt before day-light; and remain ſo until it is thoroughly clear and light abroad. The Governor has made many promotions in the room of thoſe that became vacant on 5th.

1760. May. the diſaſtrous 28th of April. The wind is variable this evening, which we hope will be productive of a Britiſh gale. Such convaleſcents as are able are to repair to Port St. Louis every morning at ſeven o'clock, to make and fill ſand-bags; the reſt are to remain and make wads in their quarters.

6th. We ſhall very ſoon have a moſt formidable line of fire againſt the enemy of near one hundred and forty pieces of cannon: for this purwe are ſtripping all our batteries next the river of their guns, planks, and platforms. The parapet wall, ſurrounding the country ſide of the town, is now ſtrengthened conſiderably, being reveſted with faſcines, and a quantity of earth rammed down between the lining and maſonry work; this has been executed with aſtoniſhing diligence and perſeverance, by day and night, from Cape Diamond to the hangman's redoubt, We have likewiſe added to the miſerable defences eaſtward of Palace-gate, and round that quarter which over-looks the *jettée* and river St. Charles; the enemy are alſo very diligent, yet perfectly quiet. Many ſignals are made on both ſides of the country downward, whence we conjecture there muſt be a fleet in the river. Our rangers ſallied out laſt night, went up to the enemy's trenches unperceived, poured in a ſmart volley, and returned immediately, without having a ſingle ſhot fired at them; they are advanced every evening about half-way between the town and our chain of blockhouſes, where they remain on their arms until day-break. A ſoldier of the Royal Americans deſerted laſt night from one of thoſe timber fortreſſes, which occaſioned the counterſign's being changed. The General has received ſome partridges, as a preſent, from M. de Levis. Our weather is very favourable; wind unſettled. The names of the Officers who command the invalids of each corps are to be ſent, every evening, to the head quarters; they are ordered to continue all night with their men: theſe convaleſcents are to be reviewed on their alarm-poſts at ſun-ſet.

Two ſoldiers, who deſerted from this army laſt campaign, returned to us early this morning: by them we are informed, that the enemy ſay they will not fire a gun at us, until they open a battery of forty pieces of cannon together; but where they will procure them, theſe men ſay, they cannot conceive; for, after having ſtripped their ſhips of their beſt and heavieſt metal, they did not ſee above twenty-ſix pieces, of different dimenſions, in their park. That they are in the greateſt diſtreſs for proviſions, each man having only one quarter of a pound of freſh meat, and half a pound of bread, per day; that a detachment of five thouſand men are thrown into the trenches every night, each of whom is ſerved with a jill of brandy, but the reſt of their army do not receive any; and that their ſavages, who amount to three hundred and fifty, are very clamorous for liquor. Theſe deſerters add, that, on the 28th of April, we repulſed the French army at two different times with immenſe loſs, and that, if M. Bourlemacque, who is the life and ſpirit of the troops, had been wounded earlier in the day, we ſhould have gained a complete victory. The enemy, ſay they, compute their loſs in the action at eighteen hundred killed and wounded, and near five hundred ſince that day by our ſhot and ſhells; but that they heard an Aid-Major, or Adjutant, acquaint ſome of their Officers, that they had conſiderably above two thouſand killed and diſabled in the engagement. The deſerters aſſure us moreover, that there is a fleet in the river, but whether Engliſh or French is yet uncertain; and that the ſoldier, who deſerted from one of our blockhouſes on the 5th inſtant, was ſhot to death by the French centinels, as he was creeping over their intrenchments, from a ſuſpicion that he belonged to a *ſortie*, and was ſent forward to reconnoitre their ſituation. The enemy had ſome reſpite from our batteries to-day, our firing being leſs frequent than heretofore. Towards evening the wind changed to the S. S. E. and blew freſh. 1760. May 7th.

The enemy remain very quiet, and we have maintained an inceſſant fire upon their trenches all this night; ſome deſerters, who came 8th.

1760. May. came in to us this morning, ſay, that it is incredible the execution made among them by our ſhot and ſhells; that their Officers are laviſh in their encomiums on our Gunners, and the admirable ſervice of our artillery: *(Have they never experienced this before?)* Fine weather to-day, and a Britiſh wind blows at E. S. E. Our troops are in great ſpirits, and work with the utmoſt diligence: we are drawing up heavy cannon to our new batteries from thoſe next the river; as theſe guns are dragged up a continual aſcent, it renders this work immenſely laborious to our brave fellows, and the Officers generouſly aſſiſt them as much as in their power, when they meet with any difficulty. Intelligence has been received from our Officers at the general hoſpital, that the enemy propoſe to ſtorm the town this night; but our gallant ſoldiers actually ſay, *they had better deſiſt, leſt they catch a tartar*; concluding their ſentiments with the ſpeech of an honeſt Briton at the memorable battle of Agincourt: Damn them, if they do come, *there is enough of them to fight, enough to be killed, and enough to run away.* It is recommended to the Officers to ſend all their uſeleſs linen to Dr. Ruſſel, for the ſervice of the hoſpitals. The Doctor having repreſented, that there is a root growing in different parts of this garriſon, which cannot be diſtinguiſhed from a parſnip, and is poiſonous; the ſoldiers are ordered not to eat any roots they find any-where: ſome men ſuffered to-day by thoſe wild ſpontaneous plants, and their recovery is doubtful. The Officers are injoined not to interfere with the Gunners, except thoſe who are appointed for that ſervice. As there is no wine to be had at preſent even for money, the General has very ſeaſonably ordered two gallons of brandy to be delivered out to every Officer, which the Quarter-Maſters of regiments are ordered to receive immediately from the Commiſſary; nothing can be more acceptable to us in our preſent ſituation, except a ſupply of freſh proviſions, thoſe iſſued from the ſtores being ſo inconceivably hard and ſalt, as to become diſguſtful. Great movements towards evening in the enemy's camp.

M. de

M. de Levis has agreeably diſappointed us; we never ceaſed firing all this laſt night: our line muſt have appeared immenſely tremendous to the enemy, and ſuch as perhaps the moſt experienced among them never beheld before, for we have not a mortar or gun mounted that was not employed, and without the ſmalleſt intermiſſion; one half of the garriſon ſtood to arms, at our alarm-poſts, from ſun-ſet in the evening until one o'clock this morning, when they were relieved by the other half, who continued, until five, prepared to give the enemy a warm reception, if they had been diſpoſed to ſtrike their *coup*; from which we are inclined to think they were deterred by the uncommon weight of our numerous artillery. The French ſloop, that whiſked by the town on the 4th inſtant, returned about midnight, and worked up to the Foulon: by this we flatter ourſelves that a fleet is at hand; we hailed the ſloop, without firing at her; but ſhe took no notice of us, and an Officer, from the citadel of Cape Diamond, inquired, *why ſhe did not ſtay below to pilot up the French armada?* It blows freſh to-day, with a delightful gale at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. 1760. May 9th.

ARRIVAL of the LEOSTOFF FRIGATE.

About eleven o'clock this forenoon we had the inconceivable ſatisfaction to behold the Leoſtoff frigate ſail up into the baſon, and come to an anchor; for a little time we were in ſuſpence, and all our perſpectives were employed in viewing her; but we were ſoon convinced of her being Britiſh, though ſome among us, who had found means to inrich themſelves by the American war, and were afraid of loſing their acquiſitions, were cunningly wiſe; they endeavoured to allay the joy of the troops, thinking it too premature; and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted ſhe was a French ſhip: at length, Captain Deane, having ſaluted the garriſon with twenty-one guns, and put off in his barge to come a-ſhore, diſſipated all apprehenſions. The gladneſs of the troops is not to be expreſſed: both Officers and ſoldiers mounted the parapets in the the face of the enemy, and huzzaed, with their hats in the air, for

almoſt

1760. May. almoſt an hour; the garriſon, the enemy's camp, the bay, and circumjacent country for ſeveral miles, reſounded with our ſhouts and the thunder of our artillery; for the Gunners were ſo elated, that they did nothing but fire and load for a conſiderable time: in ſhort, the general ſatisfaction is not to be conceived, and to form a lively idea of it is impoſſible, except by a perſon who had ſuffered the extremities of a ſiege, and been deſtined, with his brave friends and valiant countrymen, to the ſcalping knives of a faithleſs conqueror and his barbarous allies. I believe I may venture to advance, that the garriſon of Vienna, when cloſely beſieged, and hard preſſed, above fourſcore years ago, by the Turks, were not more rejoiced on ſight of the Chriſtian army, under the famous Sobieſki, marching to their relief, than we of Quebec were upon the arrival of the Leoſtoff, with the agreeable intelligence of a Britiſh fleet being maſters of the river St. Lawrence, and nigh at hand to ſuſtain us. Captain Deane left England in March laſt, with ſome ſhips of the line and other frigates, under the command of Commodore Swanton, from whom he parted at ſea, and, not being able to rejoin them, he kept his courſe, knowing his ſhip to be a good ſailor, and made the beſt of his way hither; he ſpoke with Lord Colville's fleet from Halifax, who were cruiſing off Newfoundland ſeven days ago; and was told they received orders to rendezvous at the iſland of Bic. The London news-papers, fraught with the defeat of Conflans, Thurot, and many other intereſting events, were ſent to the French Generals, early in the evening, by a flag of truce. We have not only the pleaſure to be aſcertained of the promotion of General Monckton to the command of the ſeventeenth regiment, and of General Townſhend to the twenty-eighth; but likewiſe the ſatisfaction of being aſſured, that General Murray ſucceeds the former in the ſecond battalion of Royal Americans, and is confirmed in his government of Quebec: we alſo learn, that the reduction of Montreal, with the remainder of the colony, is the plan laid down

for

for this ſummer, and is to be proſecuted by General Amherſt, in concert with the greateſt part of this garriſon, and a reinforcement from Louiſbourg. A ſculking party of the enemy came near Block-houſe, number two, laſt night, in hopes of taking a priſoner; but the Serjeant was not to be ſurpriſed, for, as ſoon as they came within piſtol-ſhot, they were fired upon, and immediately turned tail: this morning we found one Frenchman who had been killed; and, as a quantity of blood lay on the ground as far as our men could venture to trace it, we conclude that ſeveral were wounded. The boats of the ſquadron at Sillery have been in conſtant motion ſince the arrival of the Leoſtoff, and two brigs have made their appearance there, which we never perceived before. The parole of the day is *Deane*, and the counterſign is *Swanton*. A Serjeant of one of our advanced guards reported to me this day, that he ſaw ſix of the enemy carried off from a particular place where they had been at work, being killed by a ſingle ſhot from one of our guns. The Governor acquainted the garriſon, in public orders, with the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms and the ſuperiority of the Britiſh fleets over thoſe of the enemy in Europe; afterwards his Excellency proceeds thus: 'A ſtrong ſquadron is at hand, and the General does not 'doubt but both Officers and men will exert their utmoſt vigour and 'ſpirit on the preſent occaſion, in order to put a final period to the 'war in this part of the world.' One hundred and fifty additional Gunners from the regiments are ſent to join the artillery, and are to remain with them until farther orders. One man per regiment, who has been uſed to the ſea, is to be ſent to the head quarters immediately with all their neceſſaries, arms, and ammunition; theſe men are to be put on board a ſchooner, who is to be diſpatched down the river expreſs. The troops are deſired to deſiſt from work, and return to camp; and the Officers are deſired to inſpect their arms and ammunition: they are to keep one half of their men always under arms on the ramparts and at their alarm-poſts; the remainder are to be ready to turn out, with their arms, in an inſtant;

1760. May.

1760. May. ſtant; the ſituation of affairs, and the circumſtances of the enemy, now grown deſperate, render it neceſſary to take every precaution that human prudence and foreſight can dictate, to prevent a ſurpriſe. Repeated aſſurances have been received that the French Generals are meditating a *dernier effort* for the recovery of this fortreſs; but herein they have verified the old adage, *L'occaſion perdue ne ſe retrouve pas toujours:* For our forces, inſtead of ſlackening or growing ſupine at the proſpect of being ſoon relieved by a fleet, exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their power, for the defence of the garriſon, and the honour of his Majeſty's arms. The convaleſcents are under orders to be ready to turn at their alarm-poſts on the ſhorteſt notice, with their firelocks and accoutrements. It blows cold this night. with the wind at eaſt.

10th. The garriſon were under arms this night, as on the preceding; and we kept a conſtant fire on the enemy's works. A ſchooner ſailed this day to haſten up the fleet, but was obliged to return with the evening's tide, having loſt her rudder. The enemy unmaſked their batteries to-day. Two of our guns burſt on the line, whereby two men were killed, and the like number wounded. Captain Deane took a French letter of marque off Gaſpée bay, laden with ſtores and proviſions, and ſent her into Halifax: ſhe mounted twenty-ſix guns. All the troops, including the convaleſcents, are to take watch and watch this night, at their reſpective alarm-poſts, as before. Fell ſome rain this afternoon, which lulled the wind: in the evening came on thick hazy weather.

ENEMY'S BATTERIES FIRST OPENED.

11th. This morning the enemy opened their batteries; one was oppoſed to Cape Diamond, a ſecond againſt the citadel, and the third the Urſuline baſtion; their ſhot are twenty-four, eighteen, and twelve-pounders. They likewiſe bombarded us with three nine-inch mortars, and we returned this ſalute with great vigour; a few of our

men

men were wounded by their ſhot, but their ſhells have not as yet done any execution*. We have moſt agreeable weather to-day, and the wind favourable for the fleet. 1760. May.

The troops have completed all our works; and, including flank-fires, we have got near *an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon* on the ramparts, between Cape Diamond and the hangman's redoubt. We now take it alternately to ſtand to our arms, both day and night, at our alarm-poſts, one half relieving the other. A ſloop ſailed this morning in queſt of the fleet. One of our guns burſt on the line, without any diſaſter happening. The garriſon have received the ſame orders, with reſpect to their remaining alert, as before; with this difference, that, as the General will have no man expoſed to the enemy's fire but when neceſſity requires it, he directs, that, inſtead of being drawn up on the ramparts, they are to keep under cover below, leaving a ſufficient number of centinels to give them intelligence of the enemy's approach; the regiments are then inſtantly, as well the reſting men as the others, to be diſpoſed of upon the ramparts, according to the former directions they have received on this head: every ſoldier, not on duty, is commanded to have his arms and ammunition cloſe by him in his tent; but they are not to load until called upon to man their alarm-poſts. Briſk firing between us and the enemy this evening; by their ſhells flying over the town, they ſeem to be intended againſt the Leoſtoff riding at anchor in the channel off Cape Diamond: they have nearly got her direction. Wind variable towards evening.

A return of the killed and wounded of each corps is to be given in every evening at orderly time, ſpecifying only the caſualties of 11th. and 12th.

* As four Officers of the forty-third regiment were ſitting on the ground in a ſoldier's tent, eating a diſh of peaſe-porridge, a ſhell pitched within a yard of the door of the tent, and they had barely time to ſtretch themſelves at their length, when the ſhell burſt; but, by being extended flat on the ground, they happily received no other damage than loſing their meſs, which was overſet in the buſtle.

1760. May. the preceding twenty-four hours. It is expected that every convaleſcent will make one hundred wads per day; the Officers appointed to command them are to report, in writing, in the evening, the number of men who worked, and the number of wads made that day: theſe Officers are injoined to continue with their men, and ſee that they do their utmoſt; every ſoldier muſt aſſiſt, as far as he is able. Some cohorns are preparing to play into the Boyaux*, which the enemy are advancing upon their left. All the guns bearing on the enemy's batteries are ordered to be chalked, that they may be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt; and the Gunners are deſired to regulate their fire by that of the French, taking care that the guns are well pointed, and rammed home; which will prevent the like accidents that have already happened by the burſting of cannon. A French ſhot will not fit Britiſh guns; the Governor recommends it to the Artillery Officers to be very attentive to that particular, and to fire ſlow and ſure. The additional Gunners' arms are to be inſpected, that we may be certain they are in good order; and care muſt be taken to lay them and their ammunition in ſuch places on the ramparts, where they will be ſecured from wet or other accidents. We are throwing up a ravelin on the outſide of Port St. Louis; one Captain, four Subalterns, four Serjeants, and two hundred rank and file, are employed on this ſervice, from nine at night until break of day. We have had fierce cannonading and bombarding, between the town and the enemy, for theſe laſt thirty-ſix hours; but with little loſs on our ſide, except a few men being wounded; and we perceive this evening, that we have diſmounted ſome of their guns, though they are ſtill extremely laviſh of their ſhells. The troops have continued under arms both day and night, one half relieving the other, as before; and the ſoldiers, ſeeing there is a neceſſity for our being thus harraſſed, are amazingly alert, and take pleaſure in doing their duty. On the night of the 11th we were

* Works or branches advanced from a trench in fortification.

alarmed,

alarmed, and the whole garriſon ſtood to their arms until morning; this was occaſioned by the enemy's ſending down a brig for intelligence, and the Leoſtoff's firing at her, as ſhe paſſed. During this time the French, who before had been quiet for ſome hours, renewed their thunder, but the ſuperiority of ours ſoon put them to ſilence. Cold, cloudy weather, with a briſk eaſterly wind. 1760. May.

We did not moleſt our neighbours much laſt night, but we have renewed our fire this morning, and continue it with our uſual vigour; they amuſed us, about midnight, with two rockets, one from their fleet, and the other from Point Levi; which obliged us to beat to arms, man our defences, and remain there until it was clear daylight: as theſe are the cuſtomary ſignals for military atchievements, we expected, every moment, to ſee the enemy's columns advance to the charge; the troops were well prepared, and the ſoldiers orderly and in good ſpirits: about five o'clock half of the garriſon returned to their tents. We are now diſtributing our powder and proviſions in different places for ſafety, the enemy having directed their ſhells at our magazines, and particularly at the Jeſuits' college, knowing the uſe we have converted it to. The Porcupine ſloop of war is thoroughly repaired, and has taken her guns on board. The French fire very briſkly this afternoon, which we return ten fold: a notion prevails among us, that they have burſt one of their mortars. Fine weather, wind eaſterly until the evening, when it became variable, and died away; (the ſafety of this garriſon depending on the arrival of a Britiſh fleet induces me to be thus particular with reſpect to the winds.) 13th.

The enemy were perfectly quiet all laſt night; this morning they gave us a few ſhot, and at noon ſome ſhells, but we ſoon ſilenced them; and, to prevent any accident happening by their fire, we have diſperſed all our proviſions and ammunition into various ſtores. The ravelin, on the outſide of Port St. Louis, is nearly finiſhed; the Carpenters and faſcine-layers are ordered to incamp on the right of St. John's gate, to be the more readily at 14th.

1760. May. hand for any ſervice required. That our men may be as little expoſed as poſſible to the enemy's fire, they are ordered, in paſſing to or from camp to the batteries, to go along St. Louis-ſtreet, and under coverof the ramparts. Moderate weather this day, with a dropping rainand wind weſterly : at noon it was variable, but in the evening it ſprang up eaſterly, and blew a ſteady gale.

The troops on the watch, both day and night, as before. The enemy have been very ſparing of their ammunition theſe laſt twenty-four hours, in which time we have had only two ſhells from them : we ſeem to regulate our fire by theirs, being at preſent equally quiet. The new works, on the outſide of Port St. Louis, are completed, all the men off duty having been employed thereat ſince four o'clock ; an Officer's guard is poſted in the ravelin, and, as the greateſt vigilance and alertneſs is expected from them, they are to be excuſed fatigue durlng the day.

VAN-GUARD and DIAN ARRIV D.

At night-fall came to an anchor in the baſon, to the unſpeakable joy of this harraſſed garriſon, the Van-guard ſhip of war Commodore Swanton, with the Diana frigate, Captain Schomberg, and the armed ſchooner, which was ſent down the river on the 23d ultimo ; our Gunners immediately gave the enemy a general diſcharge of all our artillery, three times repeated, without any return ; and Captain Deane repaired inſtantly on board the Commodore to acquaint him with our ſituation, and to concert meaſures for our relief.

16th. We had an Officer and twelve men advanced laſt night, under cover of a riſing ground, beyond the blockhouſe No. two ; fifty French grenadiers, with a Captain and two Officers, crept upon them unperceived, and gave them a briſk fire ; which our little party ſpiritedly returned, and then fell back to the blockhouſe, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded : our Officer loſt three men two of whom were ſcalped, and otherwiſe barbarouſly butchered ; the third

was

was wounded, and made priſoner, as we ſuppoſe. This affair cauſed an alarm throughout the garriſon; our drums beat to arms, and the troops ſtood upon their defence until it was clear day-light. This act of cruelty, perpetrated by men, who are the flower and boaſt of the French armies, *(les grenadiers de France)* and under the eyes of their Officers, obliges me to digreſs a little in this place: — that the natural troops of France, namely, the regulars, did give quarter, on the 28th of April, to ſeveral of our Officers, *I confeſs*; but that they did refuſe protection to others *is equally certain.* Four of my particular acquaintance, one of whom was ſlightly wounded, were among the priſoners, and, being conducted to ſome Officers of the regiment *de la Sarre*, their uniforms faced with ſcarlet, they, one and all, waved their hands, and cried aloud, — *Allez vous en*, — *Allez vous en*; but, the fellows having already got ſome booty from their captives, and being promiſed more, if they would eſcort them to the general hoſpital, they accordingly took them there, and delivered them up ſafe; for which they were better rewarded than they knew they could expect to have been, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, for their ſcalps. It is no leſs true, that, when our army began to give way, ſeveral Officers, who, by ſlight wounds, were rendered incapable of retreating with the reſt, were never more heard of; though, as I obſerved before, others were more humanely treated, for which they may thank their own money, the avarice of their captors, and the ſinking ſtate of the French finances, now no longer able to reward ſcalping, as heretofore; moreover, it has been always the practice of the French to preſerve ſome priſoners, to ſave their own credit, and keep up an appearance of generoſity and chriſtianity. — As a farther proof of this charge, I have to add, that, of the immenſe number of wounded men, who were unavoidably left on the field of battle, twenty-eight only were ſent to the hoſpital, the reſt being given up as victims to glut the rage of their ſavages allies, and to prevent their forſaking them. But to return to the occurrences of the memorable 16th of May: A ranging Officer

1760. May.

and

1760. May. and twelve men, being advanced, laſt night, cloſe by the river St. Charles, not far from the general hoſpital, ſurpriſed a Courier, who ſwam that river with his horſe, and was returning with diſpatches for M. de Levis from the lower country, where he was detached for intelligence; by him we learn, that there are ſome ſtraggling ſhips in the river, and that he ſaw a fleet enter the gulph, which we ſuppoſe to be Lord Colville's. The wind continues eaſterly.

FRENCH FLEET above QUEBEC taken and deſtroyed.

Early this morning the Van-guard and frigates worked up with the tide of flood, and attacked the French ſquadron; at firſt M. Vaugeulin ſhewed an appearance of engaging, but ſoon made off: our ſhips forced the Pomona a-ſhore, and burned her; then purſued the others; drove the Atalanta alſo a-ſhore near Point au Tremble, and ſet her on fire; took and deſtroyed all the reſt, except la Marie, a ſmall ſloop of war, who, to avoid being taken, threw her guns overboard, and eſcaped to St. Peter's lake, above the Three Rivers; After the Commodore, *eminent for his valour, great abilities in naval affairs, faithful ſervices, and long experience,* had performed this morning's notable buſineſs, he fell down to the channel off Sillery, laid his broadſide to the right flank of the enemy's trenches, and infiladed them for ſeveral hours ſo warmly, that, between his fire and that of the garriſon, they were intirely driven from their works. M. de Levis ſent two field-pieces to play upon the Van-guard, but without any effect; for, by the ſhip's ſheering in the current, ſhe brought ſome of her guns to bear upon thoſe of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. Friday afternoon. We have the pleaſure to ſee ſeveral large bodies of Canadians filing off towards Charlebourg and Beauport, and others down the ſouth country, that have found means to get a-croſs the river; hence we flatter ourſelves, that M. de Levis is going to raiſe the ſiege. Some deſerters, who are juſt arrived, confirm us in our conjecture, by aſſuring us, that the militia

are ordered to return to their reſpective pariſhes, and the regular and colony troops to march back to Jacques Cartier; they add, that our artillery has done amazing execution in the enemy's camp; that the regiment de Guienne loſt five hundred men in the late engagement, and near three hundred, ſince that day, by our ſhot and ſhells; this corps conſiſted of two battalions. 1760. May.

The SIEGE of QUEBEC RAISED.

Other deſerters are coming in to us, who inform us, that the enemy have abandoned their camp and works, except the grenadiers and picquets, who are intrenched up to their necks, to cover the retreat of the army. In conſequence of this intelligence, the Governor has ſent an order to the batteries to fire *à ricochet* *, hoping our ſhot may overtake them in their flight, and ſcour the circumjacent country to a great extent; after the Gunners had prepared to execute theſe directions, I believe I may venture to advance, that there never was ſuch tremendous firing heard (even at Bergen op Zoam, when it was beſieged, or elſewhere) as our artillery diſplayed this evening for near two hours. The light infantry are ordered to be immediately completed to five hundred rank and file, and they, with the grenadiers, are injoined to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. This favourable proſpect makes no alteration in the uſual fatigues and duty of the garriſon. Half the troops are to take the

* By elevating their guns, at leaſt, ten degrees above the level, that the ſhot may bound and roll after they ſtrike. Mortars and howitzers are likewiſe frequently ſerved in this manner with great ſucceſs, their ſhells doing the execution of ſhot and ſhell. The ſurpriſing effect our artillery had upon this fortreſs, when we cannonaded and bombarded it a-croſs the river, is to be imputed to this method of firing; and ſhot will extend conſiderably farther than when diſcharge *point blank*. It is a very advantageous invention, and is aſcribed to the celebrated Marſhal de Vauban; for guns are loaded with a ſmaller quantity of powder than uſual, and are conſequently leſs damaged.

watch

1760. May. watch this night, and the remainder are likewiſe under orders of readineſs to march at the ſhorteſt notice. When Commodore Swanton got off Gaſpée, in his paſſage hither, he looked into that bay, and there diſcovered the French ſtore-ſhip, which had been obliged to put in there laſt November, where ſhe has ſince remained: the greateſt part of her crew were Spaniards and Italians, with about fourſcore French regular ſoldiers, and twenty ſailors of the ſame nation; this ſhip, which is frigate-built, was unrigged, and hauled up into a creek for the winter: ſhe is between four and five hundred tons burden, was formerly Britiſh, called the King George, but now the Two Brothers, and commanded by M. de Buſie; ſhe came from Bourdeaux, was pierced for twenty-ſix, but mounts only twenty-two guns, nine-pounders: her cargo, beſides the ſoldiers, conſiſts of twenty-four guns and carriages of twenty-four pounders, three hundred barrels of powder, a quantity of proviſions, wine and brandy, a large parcel of blankets, ſmall arms, lead and cannon-ſhot, with two iron mortars and beds, a great number of ſhells, and a variety of other ſtores; this valuable prize is now in charge with the Eurus ſloop of war, and is expected up to-day. She was the chief of M. de Levis's hopes, as they had intelligence of her being at Gaſpée ſoon after ſhe arrived there; but, fortunately for us, the winter then ſetting in, it was not poſſible for her to proſecute her voyage; the greateſt part of her crew deſerted her at Gaſpée, and wandered through the woods until they reach fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, where they made loud complaints of the ill uſage they received, and declared, if it had not been for the regularſoldiers, they would have cut off the Frenchmen, and bore away for Halifax.

17th. The enemy diſcharged a volley of muſketry from their intrenchments towards the garriſon, which, as we ſuppoſed, was *prendre leur derniere congé*; for a Lieutenant*, with a ſmall reconnoitring party, being ſent out, found the trenches abandoned, marched into

* Lieutenant M'Alpin, of the Royal Americans, a briſk, active Officer.

them,

them, and immediately tranſmitted notice thereof to the Governor; whereupon the light infantry and grenadiers inſtantly puſhed out, and early this morning his Excellency followed with a detachment from the ten regiments, and the whole proceeded to Lorette; eagerly hoping to come up with the cream of the French army, and pay them off for all our ſuffering ſince the 27th ultimo. Unfortunately they had croſſed the river Cape Rouge, before we reached Lorette: ſome ſtragglers however fell into our hands, and we had nearly ſurpriſed a body of Indians in the hamlet of St. Foy, who, upon ſight of our van, threw down their arms and packs, ſet up a hideous ſhout, diſperſed themſelves, and got inſtantaneouſly clear of us. All the ſick and wounded of the enemy, among whom were many Officers, who had been diſtributed among the neighbouring houſes and pariſhes, were made priſoners: and the General, perceiving it to no purpoſe to continue the purſuit any farther, refreſhed his troops, and marched back to his garriſon, where he found a polite billet from M. de Levis, recommending the priſoners and the wounded in the general hoſpital to his Excellency's care, and aſſuring him he was ſo tender of the people who had taken the oath to his Britannic Majeſty, that he did not inſiſt on their taking up arms, though he had compelled them to work for his army, which, he ſaid, he had a right to do, in this or any other country, by the rules of war. Our loſs, during the ſiege, by every accident, men and Officers included, did not exceed thirty, killed and wounded; and, now that our affairs have re-aſſumed their former ſucceſsful complexion, to take a retroſpective view of the different works performed here within theſe twenty days by a handful of men, who have been continually harraſſed with labour and watching, both day and night, is indeed ſtupendous, beyond conception; however they at length find themſelves well recompenſed for all their toils, and are ſo happy, and in ſuch high ſpirits, that it is impoſſible, even at this time, to expreſs their ardent deſire for new enterpriſes, to which they are encouraged by their confidence in

1760. May.

1760. May. our two Governors, the greateſt dependence on the Officers their fellow-labourers, and their own ſtrength, far ſurpaſſing, till now, their moſt ſanguine ideas. The enemy certainly abandoned their camp, and retired in the moſt precipitate manner, leaving their tents, cannon, mortars, *petards* *, ſcaling-ladders, and intrenching-tools almoſt innumerable, fire-arms in great abundance, ammunition, baggage, and ſome proviſions behind them; we are at a loſs to what cauſe to impute this ſhameful flight of an army ſo ſuperior in numbers, ſo well provided beyond what we could have expected, and, in ſhort, with ſo many other advantages over us, except to a ſuſpicion, as we ſurmiſed, and were afterwards confirmed in by the priſoners and deſerters, of our frigates landing ſome freſh troops above to charge them in the rear, while the garriſon ſhould ſally out, and thereby take them between two fires; this wiſe conjecture ſtruck them with ſuch a panic, that they inſtantly forſook every other conſideration, except their ſafety, by a haſty and inglorious retreat. The loſs of the enemy, from the 27th of April, incluſive, has fallen moſtly on their regular and colony troops, having one hundred and fifty-two Officers killed and wounded; of the latter twenty-two are ſince dead. The Indians committed great diſorders in their camp by getting drunk, plundering the Officers' baggage, and cutting up tents: to this end they fell upon a ſmall guard of grenadiers, who had the charge of the Officers' effects, and ſcalped every man, except one, who made his eſcape. All the deſerters agree, that our artillery did immenſe execution in their trenches, which is partly evident from the handles of the wheel-barrows, and other tools, being tinged with the blood of their late maſters; at the time that our ſhips worked up to attack their ſquadron, they were

* An engine filled with combuſtibles, and fixed by ſcrews with a port-fuſe, to the gate of a town, with a view, by its burſting, to make a breach or opening; which it ſeldom fails to do, if properly executed; it was partly to prevent an attempt of this kind that the Governor erected a ravelin to cover Port St. Louis.

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ſo prepoſſeſſed with our making a ſtrong *ſortie* to penetrate into their camp, that they prepared a large column of ſelect men to oppoſe us: and, while this body were forming, a ſhot from the garriſon took them in flank, killed fifteen on the ſpot, and diſabled ſeveral others. The regiments are ordered to have their barracks cleaned out as ſoon as poſſible, that they may break up camp. The guards are directed to pay our deliverer, Commodore Swanton, the compliments of a Brigadier-General; and the centries are reminded to reſt to the Captains of his Majeſty's ſhips. The Commanding Officers of regiments are deſired to make their men give in to their Quarter-Maſters the tents cut up and taken from the enemy's camp this day, in order to be given to Doctor Ruſſel, to make lint for their brother-ſoldiers who are wounded. All the dead, for the future, are to be interred in the burying-ground of the ſeminary. Detachments are ordered to level the enemy's intrenchments, and huts, which they had erected for ſtorehouſes. 1760. May.

The troops decamped this day, and returned to their quarters. Lord Colville's fleet are at length arrived in the bay, and were ſaluted by the garriſon. In the evening four Officers and one hundred light infantry were ordered out to ſcour the country. The French Officers and others at the general hoſpital affirm, that M. de Levis did not intend to fight us, upon his marching down with his army into our precincts, except he ſhould be attacked; and much leſs had he any thoughts of opening a battery againſt the town; his plan being only to inveſt the place, and have every thing in readineſs, in caſe a French fleet ſhould poſſeſs the river St. Lawrence before a Britiſh, or that the Two Brothers ſtoreſhip, from Gaſpée, on which was his principal dependence, had arrived time enough to inable him to beſiege us in form: but the Canadians, elated with the ſucceſs of their victory, beſought their General, in the moſt earneſt manner, 'to proceed with the artillery and ammunition in his poſ-'ſeſſion, aſſuring him, if he would make a breach or opening in any 'part of our works, they would force their way in, without 18th.

1760. May. 'requiring the leaſt aſſiſtance from the regular troops.' An extraordinary guard is mounted at the Foulon, to take charge of the artillery and ſtores found in the enemy's camp, until they can be removed.

19th. The Leoſtoff and Diana not being yet returned, the Hunter ſloop worked up this morning in queſt of them; and, in ſome hours after, the Diana and Hunter returned to the fleet before the town, but the other unfortunately ran upon ſome unknown rocks, and inſtantaneouſly went to the bottom: luckily the Officers and men were preſerved, and taken on board the other frigate; this diſaſter however happened in an excellent cauſe, for it was not until after they had completely deſtroyed the enemy's ſquadron, being ſix in number. The la Marie was laden with wounded Officers and ſoldiers, therefore went off early in the day; and, the navigation of St. Peter's lake being very ſhallow, ſhe thought proper to lighten, by heaving her guns over-board, as has been already related, to prevent her falling into our hands, or ſharing the fate of her colleagues. We have now in the baſon ſix ſhips of the line, with ſeven frigates and ſloops of war: a moſt grateful proſpect to the remains of our ſhattered army, and the Britiſh traders, who wintered here with us. It is amazing to ſee the effect of our artillery in the environs of the late French camp and circumjacent country, for the extent of almoſt two miles; the ground being ploughed up by our *richochet* firing. The enemy did not bury our dead, but ſuffered them to be ſcalped and mangled in an unheard of manner, drew them away clear of their camp, and left them for ravenous birds and beaſts to prey upon. The detachment of light infantry returned to-day; they found the enemy in the neighbourhood of Cape Rouge, where they have eſtabliſhed a new poſt: as our people received orders not to moleſt them, except they were attacked, they contented themſelves with bringing off a number of cattle from their precincts. One half of the men

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off duty are ordered immediately for fatigue; they are to be employed in replacing the ſtores and proviſions that had been diſperſed for ſafety, in different places, during the ſiege. One Major, five Captains, ten Subalterns, thirty non-commiſſioned Officers, ten Drummers and five hundred privates, are ordered to parade to-morrow morning, at four o'clock, with arms and ammunition complete. 1760. May.

—'General Murray returns his hearty thanks to both Officers and men, 'for the great zeal and diligence they have ſhewn during the ſiege, 'by which the moſt ſanguine expectations of the enemy have been 'effectually defeated; he will not fail, by the firſt and earlieſt 'opportunity, to report the ſame to his Majeſty: he cannot doubt 'but this little army has an intire confidence in thoſe that command 'them, and will chearfully aſſiſt in accompliſhing the conqueſt of 'a country now at its laſt gaſp.—Thoſe Officers and ſoldiers who 'lent money to the Government, in the beginning of the winter, are 'deſired to apply to the Secretary, who will pay them the principal 'and intereſt.'

Ships are working up, by every tide, with ſtores, liquor, and proviſions of all kinds; the Captains' guards are now reduced to two only. In the late naval engagement between our frigates and thoſe of the enemy, which, from firſt to laſt, continued one hour and two thirds, we had two ſeamen killed and ſeveral wounded; M. Vaugeulin, and his men, are priſoners; moſt of the other crews went a-ſhore and eſcaped; before the French ſhips were burned, Captain Deane humanely ſent a flag of truce to the enemy, to acquaint them with his intentions; and therefore deſired they might take their wounded men out of them, which was complied with. 20th.

The Major's detachment, of five hundred men, attempted to croſs Charles's river this morning, but, the waters being too high, they were obliged to deſiſt, and return to the garriſon; their deſtination is to ſearch the neighbouring hamlets for fire-arms, and to compel the inhabitants to come and level the enemy's intrenchments. There is a man here who is a Britiſh ſubject, and, when a boy,

1760. May. a boy, was made priſoner by the Indians on the back ſettlements of New-England, was afterwards ſold to the French, and has lived here for many years; but, ſtill retaining his natural affection for his own people, upon the ſurrender of Quebec, laſt year, he ſubmitted to the Governor, and made him an offer of his ſervice; his name is Davis, and, by his converſing fluently in the French tongue, has rendered himſelf uſeful to his Excellency in the capacities of domeſtic and purveyor, during the courſe of this winter. After the 28th of April, this man, being ſent down the river in a canoe, in ſearch of a fleet, was taken by one of the veſſels detached by the enemy at the time of the blockade; from thence he was put a-ſhore, and tranſmitted to the French camp, either on ſuſpicion of his being a ſpy, or in hopes, from the good uſage he had always met with in Canada, he would render them ſome notable ſervice: at firſt they gave him kind and ſoothing treatment, but, ſeeing it was ineffectual, they threatened to hang him, if he would not be communicative, and give them intelligence of our real numbers, operations, &c. &c. Davis, however, being thoroughly attached to the Britiſh intereſt, remained impenetrably ſecret, pleading ignorance of the military, and of all our tranſactions; at length the ſiege being raiſed, he was left at liberty and came back to us. By him we learn, that the enemy buried twelve hundred men the day after the action; that their whole loſs was nineteen hundred, among whom one hundred and ſixty Officers were killed and wounded; and, of the latter, twenty-eight are ſince dead: that, in their camp and trenches, they had near a thouſand killed and diſabled by our artillery; and that, in the courſe of the ſiege, the enemy had reſolved on two particular nights to ſtorm the garriſon, for which purpoſe every neceſſary preparation was made, and would have been executed, had it not been for the inceſſant and formidable fire we maintained on both theſe critical nights, which rendered it impoſſible for men to ſtand before it; they alſo had ſcouts to reconnoitre us in the night-time, and, finding we were not to be ſurpriſed, they

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resigned their project. Davis farther adds, that every man of the conquered country, fit to bear arms, joined M. de Levis after the engagement, except the citizens of Quebec. This day I procured the reading of a manuscript fragment found in the enemy's camp; it was part of the Journal of a French Officer, wrote in an epistolary manner, as if intended to be transmitted to Europe; the author therein 'expressed great astonishment at seeing us march out of our 'garrison on the morning of the 28th of April, and much greater at 'our *temerity* in advancing to give them battle; for that it was not 'their intention to fight or disturb us, but only to cut off our commu-'nication with the country by a line of intrenchment, and wait the 'arrival of a fleet, which would determine their and our fate to-'gether with that of Canada; that, if we had kept our high advan-'tageous ground with our artillery, on the day of action, instead 'of marching down into a morass of snow and water, it is proba-'ble we might have carried the day, and obliged them to de-'sert their enterprise.' This self-sufficient Journalist adds, 'that 'the British behaved well, until they advanced upon us with their 'bayonets, which, according to custom, threw us into confusion, 'and compelled us to give up the contest.' — I shall only observe, in answer to this assertion from the pen of an enemy, that the armaments of that nation, both by sea and land, have always preferred engaging at an immoderate distance, and that, conscious of their being remarkable for their backwardness to close fighting, they are ever ready to reflect on their enemies in this particular, hoping, by such a recrimination, to extol themselves and strike terror into our forces to succeeding generations; moreover, there are so many recent instances, as well as ancient records, of the prowess of the British troops, and the modesty of the French, in fighting or pushing bayonets, that they are ashamed of it, and, not daring to acquit themselves of so just a reproach, when occasion offers, they are forced to to have recourse to their own fruitful inventions and disingenuous subterfuges; — I shall only subjoin, that I have frequently had the

1760. May.

1760. May. honour of meeting them in the courſe of my ſervice, and I never ſaw them diſpoſed to come to the diſtance of piſtol-ſhot, much leſs to bayonet-puſhing.

Having now given a journal, at large, of all the operations and occurrences of a long winter's painful campaign in Canada, I muſt beg the reader's indulgence to take a review of the whole; which ſhall be diſmiſſed with all poſſible brevity.

REVIEW of the WINTER CAMPAIGN at QUEBEC.

When our victorious army, conſiſting of ten regiments, two companies of the royal artillery, and one company of New-England rangers, amounting to about ſeven thouſand three hundred men, marched into Quebec, under the command of Brigadier-General Murray, as Governor, and Colonel Ralph Burton, as Lieutenant-Governor: the garriſon was by no means ſecure againſt *a coup de main*. Six baſtions, with their curtains of ſlight maſonry, forming a chain from Cape Diamond to St. Rocque, was then our only defence and dependence; there was no foot-bank to the curtains, no embraſures made, no covered-way, nor out-work of any kind, and, in ſhort, the cannon that were on the flanks were ſo indifferent and worm-eaten, that they were almoſt uſeleſs: it would be impoſſible to delineate the miſerable ſtate of this city; near one third of the houſes were reduced to ruins, and what remained were ſo perforated by our cannon, during the firſt ſiege, that very few of them were fit to be inhabited.

REVIEW of the WINTER CAMPAIGN in CANADA.

The enemy's army conſiſted of five battalions of veteran troops, thirty companies of marines, *troupes de colonie*, two troops of light cavalry, twelve hundred Acadians and ſavages, with about twelve thouſand Canadians, amounting, in the whole, to near eighteen thouſand

thouſand men, all in good health, who had not undergone a tenth part of the fatigues our troops had been expoſed to. That army had many advantages over us: their men were healthy; they were perfectly acquainted with the country; they had freſh proviſions in abundance, having not only the upper country under their dominion, but alſo the intire ſouth coaſt, from the capital eaſtward; and, finally, by the uncommon ſituation of the garriſon, and the number of French inhabitants within the walls, none of our motions could eſcape them: ſuch was the army and difficulties we had to contend with; however, we ſtayed no longer within our walls than was neceſſary to render our houſes habitable, and to ſecure our ramparts againſt all attempts by ſurpriſe. The repairing an immenſe number of dwellings, building eight blockhouſes out of the city, making foot-banks along the walls, opening embraſures, placing our cannon, incompaſſing all the avenues to the ſuburbs, and the intire quarter of St. Rocque, which before lay open, with ſtout paliſades, removing near a twelvemonth's proviſions, and an inconceivable quantity of ammunition of all kinds, into the higher town, beſides forming a magazine of ſeveral thouſands of faſcines, were only ſpecimens of the immenſe hardſhips and fatigues ſtill reſerved for us. While our forces were thus employed within, ſmall parties from the enemy carried off our cattle, often under the cannon of the place, though they generally paid dear for them. As ſoon as the Governor had taken every neceſſary precaution for our preſervation, we took the field: ſix hundred men marched out in two detachments; one of two hundred went to St. Foy, the remainder to Lorette, at both which places we took poſt; and, as ſoon as they were well ſecured, another corps of ſeven hundred men marched to St. Auguſtine, brought off the enemy's advanced guard with a great many cattle, and diſarmed the inhabitants. Theſe two poſts were of the greateſt importance, as they gave us an opportunity of watching the enemy's motions, while they covered our own; and likewiſe they ſubjected eleven pariſhes to us, which greatly contributed to furniſh us with 1760. May.

1760. May. freſh proviſions, and with every thing elſe that was neceſſary for ſubſiſtence during the winter; at the ſame time they relieved the garriſon in the other eſſential works we were carrying on, and protected thoſe people who had ſubmitted to our government from the rigorous diſpoſition of their late maſters, and the incurſions of their barbarous allies: laſtly, which, in this moſt inclement ſeaſon, deſerves a particular conſideration, by our advanced poſts at theſe two places, we were inabled to provide ourſelves with wood, an article of the utmoſt conſequence; for, when our fleet left us, we had not, at the moſt, above three weeks' firing. Hoary winter now poured in with haſty ſtrides; the foreſt of St. Foy was the neareſt to the town; we wanted near twenty thouſand cords of wood for the hoſpitals, guards, and quarters; and we had, at that time, very little cut down in the iſland of Orleans, the tranſporting of which was extremely tedious and difficult, as the river was then covered with floating ice. A few days after we had ſecured our poſts before-mentioned, we ſet two hundred fellers to work, and made a large number of hand-ſleighs. Towards the latter end of November we began to diſtribute firing: the regiments conſtantly detached all their men who were off duty with theſe ſleighs, and they brought as much wood to the garriſon as they could draw. This work was continued near four months, at a ſeaſon of the year which, for its ſeverity, may be ſaid to be unknown to European climates, and which alone may be put in competition with the moſt harraſſing campaigns that were ever made in any other northern country. Our affairs now aſſumed a good aſpect, and we ourſelves were well ſecured againſt any ſudden attempts from the enemy: whereupon a command of two hundred men were detached a-croſs St. Lawrence river, who diſarmed the inhabitants, and obliged them to ſwear fealty to our Sovereign; this proceeding gave us dominion over the pariſhes along the ſouthern ſhore from Point Levi downwards, and conſequently ſupplied us with the greateſt part of our freſh proviſions. Some time before the French army had taken up their winter quarters,

quarters, their advanced poſts were at Point au Tremble, St. Auguſtine, and Calvaire; the remainder of their forces were diſtributed between Jacques Cartier and the Three Rivers; their Generals, being informed that our garriſon daily diminiſhed by the perpetual and unavoidable hardſhips to which we were expoſed, reſolved, with their ſuperiority of numbers, to repoſſeſs themſelves of this place in the depth of winter. In purſuance of this reſolution, they made every neceſſary preparation. Snow-ſhoes were diſtributed to the troops; ſome hundreds of ſcaling-ladders, of various dimenſions, were made for this enterpriſe, and they even exerciſed their men in fixing and mounting them. This ſtroke, with which we have been continually threatened, was to have been executed about the latter end of February, or middle of March at fartheſt; and, nothwithſtanding all their endeavours to conceal their intentions by cutting off every communication with Jacques Cartier, which hitherto had been open and free to the inhabitants of the country, their deſigns tranſpired to us. The enemy, notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages happening in the practices of an eſcalade, which made them ſuſpend their project, yet never thoroughly loſt ſight of it; a detachment was ſent to Point Levi, to take poſt there, to collect the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſt to reinforce their army, and to form a magazine of proviſions: the poſts of Calvaire and St. Auguſtine were likewiſe ſtrengthened by ſome companies of grenadiers. They had been ſeveral days in poſſeſſion of Point Levi, engaged in heaping up great quantities of flour, and killing ſome hundreds of black cattle for the maintenance of their army during the expedition, when our light troops, ſupported by a detachment from the regiments, croſſed over and routed them; we could not attempt this ſooner, as the river was not frozen over; and, though we had boats and batteaus in abundance, they were at that time uſeleſs by the vaſt quantities of floating ice. Their retreat was very precipitate, and they loſt ſome men, beſides the greateſt part of their proviſions, and a few priſoners, which fell into our hands. We now took poſt in the church of St. Joſeph,

1760. May.

1760. May. at Point Levi, until we had conſtructed two blockhouſes, in one of which we mounted cannon. Some few days elapſed, and the enemy returned with a greater force to recover this poſt; but, having timely notice thereof, the Governor marched ſome battalions over the ice to cut them off, and again ſent the light troops with a detachment to attack them, while they were inſulting the church; the enemy, finding themſelves cloſe hemmed in on all ſides, gave way, and their retreat was ſo haſty, that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt alacrity and diligence of our troops, we only overtook a part of their rear, who were very roughly handled; and here we alſo made ſeveral priſoners. After this defeat we finiſhed our blockhouſes, ſurrounded them with felled trees, and ſecured our poſts beyond farther apprehenſions of new aſſaults. This ſame detachment, that had attempted to force us, went a few days after, and took poſt at Beaumont, below Point Levi; but it was not thought neceſſary to moleſt them there, perhaps what they moſt wiſhed for, on account of the great diſtance between that pariſh and the garriſon. It was not now improbable that the enemy had changed their ſyſtem; that they would poſtpone any farther attempts until the ſpring, and then, perhaps, form a regular ſiege: our conjectures on this head were natural, and all their preparations ſeemed to indicate it; for they began to rig their ſhips, to repair their batteaus and other craft, to build gallies, to caſt ſhot and ſhells, and, at the ſame time, were making a prodigious quantity of faſcines, gabions, and ſtakes; in ſhort, they made every neceſſary preparation for a ſiege. Our little army were not idle; we alſo made a great number of faſcines, paliſades, and picquets, in order to intrench and fortify ourſelves without the town, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. Whilſt theſe formidable preparations were making on both ſides, our light troops, with other detachments, went and ſurpriſed the advanced poſts of St. Auguſtine, Calvaire, &c. and, notwithſtanding the alertneſs of the enemy in retreating, we made near one hundred priſoners. Some time after they flattered themſelves with an ample revenge, by attempting to carry off our

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wood-fellers and rangers that covered Lorette and St. Foy, but they were warmly repulſed. The ſituation of our affairs became daily more critical: it was more than probable the enemy's fleet and army would fall down the river as ſoon as it opened, and, the ground being yet bound up with froſt, that we ſhould not have time to form our intrenchments; theſe conſiderations induced the Governor to ſend the light infantry to Cape Rouge, with orders to fortify that poſt; firſt, with a view to prevent the enemy's landing there, and, in the next place, to be nearer at hand to obſerve their motions. The works were hardly begun, when the froſt broke up: the enemy's fleet fell down, and landed their army at Point au Tremble, whence they marched directly to Lorette, in order to ſurpriſe that poſt, and cut off thoſe of Cape Rouge and St. Foy. By the vigilance and activity of the General we fruſtrated their attempts: thoſe detachments fell back on St. Foy, after deſtroying not only theſe poſts to render them uſeleſs to the French army, but every bridge that lay in their way; at the ſame time half the garriſon marched out with ſome field-pieces, and covered the retreat of thoſe detachments, with little or no loſs; this was on the 27th of April. What enſued on the 28th is too affecting to bear a repetition; beſides, it would be ſuperfluous, and the reader will find it at large in the occurrences of that diſaſtrous day. The ſame evening the enemy opened their trenches, their ſhips anchored at Foulon, to the right of their camp; and between this and the 10th of May they were inceſſantly employed in landing their artillery, ammunition, proviſions, ladders, tools, &c. in raiſing batteries, and perfecting their trenches; on the 11th they opened a bomb-battery, with three others, viz. one of three, one of four, and the third of ſix pieces of cannon. We made the neceſſary diſpoſition to defend the *Wolfeian* conqueſt, ſo dearly purchaſed at the loſs of his invaluable life, to the laſt extremity, and planted artillery not only on every baſtion, but alſo in the curtains; we likewiſe raiſed two cavaliers, and made ſome outworks. The enemy cannonaded us very furiouſly the firſt day, yet

1760. May.

1760. May. the ſuperior weight of our fire not only obliged them to change their attack, but ſoon ſilenced them, and theirs' ſlackened every day after. Before they opened their batteries, we had one hundred and thirty-two pieces of heavy cannon, beſides flankers and others of leſs weight towards the extremity of the line, on our walls; this was a moſt laborious taſk for our ſoldiery, who dragged them from the lower to the upper town, and from other parts of the garriſon where they were before; which, in our preſent ſituation, were become uſeleſs. Notwithſtanding this formidable artillery, we were ſo circumſtanced, that, if a French fleet had appeared firſt in the river, the place muſt inevitably have fallen, and the troops probably been cut to pieces, without any apparent reſource, or practicability of a retreat; therefore we had determined to perſevere in a moſt vigorous and obſtinate defence, and, if our utmoſt efforts had proved ineffectual, to have died with our arms in our hands; this, I am perſuaded, was the reſolution of every Officer in this garriſon, and it is not to be doubted, that the men would have followed their example. On the forenoon of the 9th of May a Britiſh frigate came to an anchor in the baſon, and brought us the joyful news of our fleet being in poſſeſſion of the river; on the evening of the 15th a ſhip of the line and another frigate alſo anchored before the town: early the next morning this little ſquadron worked up with great ſpirit, and engaged the French fleet, which inſtantly weighed anchor, but were ſo cloſely followed by our frigates, and ſo briſkly attacked, that all their ſhips were driven a-ſhore in different places, and totally deſtroyed. This was like a thunderbolt to the enemy; they went off the ſame evening, and raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, that they abandoned all their artillery, ammunition, field-equipage, proviſions, and an immenſe quantity of every thing that was neceſſary to carry on a ſiege. Upon the firſt intelligence of this happy revolution, the Governor, with part of the garriſon, ſallied out to harraſs their rear; but, unluckily, they had croſſed the river at Cape Rouge, before we could come up with them. Thus have I

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deduced the tranſactions of this long winter's campaign to as ſmall a compaſs as I poſſibly could: it remains now to be obſerved, that we buried a thouſand men ſince we marched into this garriſon, and had almoſt double that number alternately in the hoſpitals; ſo that it will appear, by recapitulating the various occurrences and operations of the winter, that about four thouſand men have accompliſhed this great work, and ſuſtained incredible fatigues continually for the ſpace of eight months; and this at a ſeaſon of the year uſually reſerved in other countries for the relief and refreſhment of troops. I have only to ſubjoin, that the active example and abilities of our Governors, together with the moſt exact diſcipline, obſerved and ſupported throughout, by the Officers of every rank: the great harmony and unanimity which has ſubſiſted among the ſeveral corps, even to the private men, and between them and their ſuperiors as one family: the unparalleled humanity to the ſick and wounded, and the invariable attention diſplayed on every occaſion to the preſervation of the health of the ſoldiery: all theſe circumſtances concurring inabled the army, with alacrity, to ſurmount every difficulty and to conduct their affairs to the proſperous iſſue wherein we now behold them; whilſt the enemy, by the deſperate ſituation of theirs', are incapacitated from giving us any conſiderable trouble, or exerting any efforts of conſequence againſt the Commander in Chief, in completing the reduction of upper Canada. 1760. May.

The troops are ordered to be in readineſs to take the field, or proceed upon immediate ſervice, on the ſhorteſt notice; ſome armed veſſels are fitting out, and the army are to be conveyed up the river, to perfect a junction with the Commander in Chief: we are to be attended by all the flat-bottomed boats, with detachments of Officers and ſailors from the fleet. The Canadians have levelled the late works of the enemy, purſuant to the Governor's commands; and the duty of the garriſon is reduced for the eaſe of the forces. General Amherſt has been pleaſed to fill up 22d.

ſuch

1760. May. ſuch vacancies in the regiments of Quebec as he had knowledge of, viz. three Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, two Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, and four Subalterns.

25th. Several tribes of Indians have ſent a deputation to the Governor to treat for peace. The troops and women are now directed to be victualled at the uſual allowance, as in the winter.

An Officer ſailed, this day, expreſs to General Amherſt, by the way of Boſton. Captain Deane has been tried for the loſs of the Leoſtoff, and honourably acquitted. Captain Schomberg and Major Maitland, Deputy-Adjutant General, fell down the river to take their paſſage for England; they are charged with diſpatches from Lord Colville, General Murray, and Commodore Swanton: the General ſent a very ſenſible and truly ſpirited letter to the Secretary of State, containing a moſt ſatisfactory account of the various occurrences previous and ſubſequent to all our late troubles and difficulties; but, as I have already given a minute detail of theſe ſeveral tranſactions, I think it needleſs to treſpaſs on the reader by a repetition of them.

30th. We had Divine ſervice, and a ſolemn thankſgiving, this day, for the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms in Canada. A native of the pariſh of St. Michel was hanged yeſterday, in ſight of his own hamlet, for having exerted his utmoſt endeavours to ſpirit up his countrymen to revolt, and drawing ſeveral of his own company, he being a Captain of the militia, to join the late French army. A daily market is eſtabliſhed in the ſuburbs of St. Rocque, for the benefit of the troops and our Canadian ſubjects reciprocally; they are to ſupply us with milk, butter, eggs, fiſh, veal, and ſuch other articles as the country people can ſpare; on this occaſion the Governor iſſued the following regulations.

ORDERS.

1760. May.

ORDERS.

" The General's intention, in ordering a market, is to ſupply " the garriſon with every refreſhment the country affords: but, as " a quantity of ſalt proviſions, being allowed to paſs into the " country, may be a means of ſupporting the enemy, he there- " fore orders, that no perſon whatever ſhall give ſalt beef, or pork, " or any kind of proviſions to the French, but in lieu of freſh " proviſions actually brought in; and no other perſon in any corps, " except the Quarter-Maſter, is to be allowed to truck for the " ſoldiers; no merchant to be allowed to exchange proviſions with " the French, but they may buy them for money: the General " depends on the Officers exerting themſelves to prevent any abuſe " in this market, whereby the King's ſervice may be affected; " which it muſt be, if they can ſmuggle proviſions, and procure " any quantity under ſanction." On the 31ſt it was injoined, " that a Quarter-Maſter ſhall always attend the market from ſun- " riſing until twelve o'clock, to ſee proper order obſerved, and juſ- " tice done to the people that come from the country: he is to " be anſwerable that no proviſions are allowed to paſs into the " country, but in exchange of ſuch things as the Canadians bring " in; and that none but Officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon are " allowed to barter."

On the 3d of June it was ordered that proviſions are to be exchanged at the following rates: — " Two pounds of veal, or one " pound and an half of beef or mutton, for one pound of ſalt " pork, or one ſhilling; three quarts of milk, or twelve eggs, " or one pound of freſh butter, for one pound of the ſaid pork, " or one ſhilling; and fiſh at the rate of two-pence per pound." — On the 7th, the Governor was pleaſed to order that " No perſon " whatever is to go beyond the centries, poſted at the market, " in order to buy from the country-people, before they come to

June 3d.

1760. June. " market: any Officer's ſervant who attempts it will be confined and " puniſhed. As the General is convinced the enemy are in great " want of proviſions, and will endeavour to procure them by every " method, he expects the Officers of the garriſon will join with " him in preventing any being conveyed out of this place, either " by land or water; and he hopes there will be no application to him " for any indulgence on this head until the country ſubmits, as he " cannot anſwer the allowing it." His Excellency has moreover iſſued a proclamation forbidding the Merchants and Maſters of ſhips trading with the French, or ſelling their proviſions on any account whatſoever, on pain of confiſcation of goods and imprisonment. All the convaleſcents of the army, with ſuch of the ſick as can be removed, are to be conveyed to the iſle of Orleans for their recovery. The ſchooner, ſent down by the enemy on the 11th ultimo, has got four ſix-pounders, beſides a number of ſwivels, and forty men on board; ſhe has lately taken three of our traders, about ten leagues S. E. of Coudre, laden with liquors, proviſions of all kinds, merchants' goods, ſlops, &c. The crews had their cheſts and bedding returned to them; they were fifteen in number, and were put a-ſhore on one of thoſe iſlands, called the Pilgrims, where, fortunately meeting with a batteau, they made ſails of their blankets and cloaths, and, by one contrivance or other, worked their way up to town; in conſequence of this intelligence, the Prince of Orange, Eurus, and two armed veſſels, are fallen down to cruiſe and protect the merchant-men. Lord Colville has ordered all the ſick in the fleet to be landed, and put into Point Levi church, for the re-eſtabliſhment of their health. We are now deſtroying the harbour and fortifications of Louiſbourg, and we are aſſured, that this little army will be reinforced by ſome of the regiments in garriſon there. King's ſhips and traders daily arrive in the baſon. By an Officer, who is a priſoner, and permitted to come down from Montreal, we are informed that

General Amherſt is in motion; that Sir William Johnſon, with a large body of Indians, are advanced to fort Chamble; and that M. Vaudreuil declares he will not ſurrender until the Commander in Chief's army are actually landed on the iſland of Montreal. The Schooner privateer is taken by the Eurus, and is to be employed in our ſervice; we are repairing our floating batteries for the expedition. The ſtate of our garriſon, on the 3d inſtant, ſtood thus:—ſick and recovering men, including wounded, and thoſe unfit for ſervice, two thouſand five hundred and fifty-three; troops, fit for duty, two thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen; total, five thouſand and ſeventy. 1760. June.

We are informed that the French Generals have ſent off thoſe men who deſerted from us to Louiſiana, having, as it is ſaid, no farther ſervice for them. A Prieſt, and two or three Jeſuits, are brought in priſoners, and ſent on board the ſhips in the baſon: they have been too active in ſpiriting up the Canadians to a revolt. A body of Indians, with the French cavalry, are ſculking about the precincts of the general hoſpital; they ſurpriſed three rangers, and endeavoured to intercept ſome Maſters of ſhips, who had walked out; but, the guard at the hoſpital having ſallied forth upon them, they ſheered off, and an hundred light infantry went in purſuit of them, and hunted them to the foreſt of St. Foy. A veſſel from Boſton is retaken, near twenty leagues up the river Seguenny; and intelligence is received that a French frigate, with a large convoy of tranſports and ſtoreſhips, have entered the river, and, upon being aſcertained of our fleet being arrived here, they have turned into Gaſpée or Chaleurs: whereupon Lord Colville has detached the Rocheſter and an armed veſſel to reinforce the Prince of Orange, with orders to Captain Wallis to go in ſearch of them. A ſtrong redoubt is erected about four miles off, and defended by a Captain, three Subalterns, and one hundred men. The inhabitants of the conquered country are now employed in cutting fire-wood for the garriſon. Several ſmall veſſels are taken into ſervice for the expedition, and they are

1760. June. laying in the proviſions, ſtores, and artillery for the troops that are to move upwards. The diſmantling of Louiſbourg has been poſtponed; the ſituation of our affairs here being repreſented as very precarious, Governor Whitmore thought it adviſable to wait until he is aſcertained of the ſiege of Quebec being raiſed; this has alſo retarded the arrival of the expected reinforcements. Some Canadians are ordered into town, to perform the office of ſcavengers.

The Weekly State of our Forces this Day is as follows:

15th.

		Lieut. Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Enſigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Quart. Maſters	Surgeons.	Mates.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Regiments,	Fit for duty,	2	5	30	95	52	4	7	5	8	12	214	121	2351
	Public employment,	0	0	3	11	4	0	0	0	0	1	29	1	368
	Sick and wounded,	2	1	10	27	15	0	0	1	1	0	95	53	2265
Artillery,	Fit for duty,	0	0	3	1	6	0	1	1	1	0	6	6	122
	Sick and wounded,	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Rangers,	Fit for duty,	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	53
	Sick and wounded,	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Total		4	7	47	136	77	4	8	7	10	13	348	181	5209

Our ſick are ſo well ſupplied with milk, butter, ſoop, and other refreſhments on the iſle of Orleans, that they are recovering ſurpriſingly, to which the change of air does not a little contribute.

21ſt. The five eldeſt companies of grenadiers were reviewed to-day, and afterwards two of them embarked for St. Nicholas, under Major Irving, to ſwear and diſarm the inhabitants.

22d. In honour to this day, the flag was hoiſted on the citadel, the fleet diſplayed their colours, and at noon they fired, manned their tops, and cheered.

23d. Major Irving's detachment returned this day from St. Nicholas, and ſix companies of grenadiers, under Major Agnew, marched

to

to Lorette, to re-eſtabliſh a poſt there. The floating batteries are taking in their guns to be in readineſs for the expedition. 1760. June.

Each company of grenadiers is ordered to be completed to one Captain, three Subalterns, three Serjeants, three Corporals, two Drummers and ſixty privates; and the regiments are likewiſe ordered to draft a body of able men, who, with the others, are to hold themſelves in readineſs to embark. The Porcupine ſloop of war, with two armed veſſels, eight floating batteries, and twenty flat-bottomed boats, with Naval Officers and ſeamen, are to be commanded by Captain Deane: our two Governors will command the troops, and Colonel Fraſer is to remain here, to take charge of the garriſon. 25th.

The grenadiers at Lorette were relieved to-day; Major Agnew, with a ſmall reconnoitring party, went to Cape Rouge, and was informed by the inhabitants, that ſometimes a few cavalry and Indians came down among them; but they could not aſcertain their numbers, as they always endeavoured to avoid them. A Captain of the militia brought a letter to the Governor which he ſaid was left at his houſe, in his abſence, by a perſon unknown, and delivered to his wife, with orders to circulate its contents among all men of his diſtrict; the copy that fell into my hands is very incorrect; it was wrote by M. Vaudreuil, and diſcovers great ſubtilty of invention; I ſhall therefore preſent the reader with an exact tranſlation of it: 26th.

'M. de Levis, who is returned here, has again communicated to 'me the moſt lively aſſurances of the good-will, zeal, and approved 'bravery, exerted by you and your whole company; I did not 'expect leſs from the fidelity of my gallant Canadians, from their 'natural and laudable attachment to their country *. His Majeſty, 'who, it is not improbable, is by this time informed of your glori-

* This appears to be a circular letter to the Captains reſpectively, throughout the colony.

'ous

1760. June. ‘ ous victory, will feel no leſs ſatisfaction at this event, than affliction at the miſeries of the colony; in which caſe, ſuppoſing a ‘ peace has not been concluded, on the receipt of this intelligence, ‘ the King of England cannot poſſibly avoid acquieſcing in ſuch ‘ terms as our Monarch ſhall have preſcribed to him. You are ‘ not unacquainted with the conſiderable advantages we have gained, ‘ in Europe, over the Britiſh and their allies during the laſt campaign; the ſeveral priſoners we are hourly making agree in confirming thoſe intereſting accounts, viz. that his Majeſty is at the ‘ head of an army of two hundred thouſand men in Holland; ‘ the Prince of Conti, with one hundred thouſand, in Germany; ‘ the Princes of Deux Ponts and Soubiſe command the army of ‘ the Empire, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand men; and moreover our good friends, the Empreſs of Ruſſia and the Queen of Hungary, have united all their forces, and are concerting meaſures for the ‘ final reduction of the remainder of his Pruſſian Majeſty's dominions. ‘ Add to this, our lateſt accounts aſſure us, that the garriſons of Fort ‘ Frederic, Niagara, and Chouhagan *, are greatly diminiſhed by ‘ ſickneſs, which continues to rage among them; and that the regular ‘ troops in New-England are reduced to a handful. M. Murray ‘ has therefore diſperſed placarts to very little purpoſe, to aggrandiſe ‘ his own nation, to appeaſe the Canadians, to perſuade them to lay ‘ down their arms, to diſcredit our bills of exchange and paper ‘ currency, at the ſame time that the Britiſh Merchants are ſolicitous ‘ to procure them, becauſe they have been punctually diſcharged. ‘ By this, Sir, you ſee that the colony is drawing to the concluſion ‘ of its diſtreſſes and difficulties, and that we are happily arrived ‘ at the eve of ſeeing peace and plenty ſucceed to war and famine. ‘ If the Britiſh troops ſhould make any farther attempt, it can ‘ have no other motive than an eagerneſs of ambition in their

* Oſwego.

Generals;

1760. June.

'Generals; we are every-where prepared, and thoroughly determined to repulse them with vigour: we have an excellent train of artillery, *exclusive of that which we took from the enemy*, with a great quantity of ammunition, and stores of every kind, sufficient for the operations which I have projected; we flatter ourselves we have also provisions enough, by means of the expedients we expect to find in the good affections of our Canadians, who are more immediately interested in the preservation of their religion, their liberties, and their country. The King's troops will even subsist upon vegetables, if other provisions cannot be procured for them; and will not fail to unite their best endeavours with those of my brave Canadians. Know ye, then, my inclination herein: that you and your whole company, together with the rest of the militia of the colony, are to be in readiness to march, with their arms, baggage, and eight days' provisions, to our frontiers, when the exigency of affairs shall require it, of which ye shall have due notice by a repetition of the usual signals *. I believe I may venture to assure you, that these will be the last arrangements which I shall have occasion to make for the defence of Canada, being firmly persuaded, that, by the latter end of August at farthest, we shall have peace, provisions, and, in general, whatever we stand in need of at present.

'Montreal, June 3, 1760.' (Signed) VAUDREUIL.'

27th. The French Officers and soldiers who are prisoners, together with a numerous corps of deserters, are embarked to-day on board a cartel-ship for England or France: she will sail with the first fair wind.

* I presume he alludes to large fires made on all the eminences, from one district or parish to another; or, perhaps, to signal shots.

A soldier

1760. June 29th. A ſoldier of the Highlanders was this day killed by lightning, and two others were much ſcorched. The rains in the ſummer ſeaſon are exceedingly heavy, the thunder inconceivably loud, and the lightning moſt beautifully dreadful.

July 2d. The citizens have been permitted to return to town, in order to examine their effects, and carry off ſuch of them to the country as they ſtand in need of; or all, if they chuſe it; which was this day complied with.

The following is the State of the Troops under orders for Embarkation:

Ten companies of grenadiers at ſixty men each - - -		600
Four Officers, three Serjeants, three Corporals - -		100
Ten draughts from the corps, of one hundred and forty-ſeven men each - - - -		1470
Nine Officers, ſeven Serjeants, ſeven Corporals from each corps		230
One Officer with a detachment of rangers - -		51
		2451

Excluſive of a detachment of the royal train of artillery, ſeamen, batteaumen, Field-Officers, and Drummers, the above troops are formed into ſeven battalions, and ground was this day marked out
3d. for their incampment, in the following order:

	Battalions.	Of what detachments compoſed.	By whom commanded.	Adjutants	Qu. Maſt.	Surgeons.
Left Brig. Right Brig.	1ſt Batt. Gren.	15th, 47th, 3d B. R. A. 35th, & 58th.	Maj. Agnew			Mr. M'Lane
	1ſt Battalion	15th and 48th, - -	Maj. Irving,	of the 15th	of the 48th	Mr. Roberts.
	3d Battalion	35th, and 3d B. R. A.	Maj. Morris,	of the 35th	—— 15th	Mr. Fraſer.
	5th Battalion	47th and 78th, - -	Maj. Spittal,	of the 47th	—— 78th	Mr. M'Pher.
	4th Battalion	43d 2d B. R. A. -	Maj. Oſwald,	2d B. R. A.	—— 43d.	Mr. Tudor,
	2d Battalion,	28th and 58th, - -	Maj. Curry,	—— 28th	—— 58th	Mr. M'Main
	2d Battalion grenadiers	28th, 48th, and 78th. 2d. B. R. A. and 43d,	Maj. Addiſon.			Mr. Watſon.

The

The right brigade is to be commanded by Colonel Ralph Burton, the left by the honourable Colonel Howe, as Brigadiers. 1760. July.

Captain St. Leger is appointed Major to the firſt brigade, and Lieutenant Hay to the other. The troops are ordered to ſettle their accounts with the general hoſpital; the women are not to be allowed to take the field, nor to follow the troops up the river. Captain Wetterſtrome, of the Royal Americans, is appointed to command all the floating-batteries that are to be employed on the expedition. The Biſhop of Canada died lately at Montreal; he was eminent for great piety, learning, and extenſive charity: this day high Maſs was performed at the Urſuline church, in reverence to his memory, &c. &c. and according to the practice of the Romiſh church: the walls, altar, pulpit, &c. were hung with black, and a coffin was erected within the chancel, covered with a velvet pall; there were ſeveral dozen of wax-candles lighted on the occaſion. This ſervice was diſcharged by a relation of the deceaſed, Monſieur Briaud *, a Canon of the cathedral, Rector of the conventual church of St. Auguſtine, and now appointed by General Murray to take charge of all the clergy throughout the dioceſe. The troops intended for the expedition marched out on the 5th inſtant, and incamped about a quarter of a mile from the town; and, on the 7th, a great number of men arrived from Orleans, ſurpriſingly recovered and fit for duty. Captain Deane's ſquadron worked up from the baſon, and anchored off the left of our incampment.

ORDERS.

" The Governor had ſtrong expectations to have received a conſi- 10th.
" derable ſum of money by his Majeſty's ſhip the Lizard, and is vex-
" ed at the diſappointment: he is ſure the Officers will not repine at

* He has been, as I am informed, confirmed in the Biſhopric of Quebec by his Britannic Majeſty.

1760. July. "the unavoidable delay this muſt occaſion to their being paid their "forage-money, which ſhould be iſſued at the beginning of the "campaign, as they may depend upon it, when the caſh arrives. "It was fully intended that the men ſhould have been cleared to "the 24th of April laſt, but, as it is not poſſible to compaſs that "at preſent, it is the General's poſitive orders that their accounts "may be exactly ſtated to that time, ſigned by themſelves; and "that they be provided with every neceſſary and comfort which "can be procured for them upon credit from the merchants; "moreover, that twenty ſhillings be paid to each man upon ac- "count of his balance, being all the money that the Paymaſter- "General can raiſe at preſent. The General has received a letter "from the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, informing him, "that a large ſum was to be ſent here; and he imagines it will ar- "rive with the Sutherland man of war, who is expected: he "aſſures both Officers and men, in whom he has the utmoſt con- "fidence, they ſhall be cleared the laſt ſhilling, ſo ſoon as money "comes to hand *."

The remainder of the forces, left for the defence of Quebec, are ordered to incamp ſeparately without the town. A number of recovered men and Officers of this army have rejoined us from New-York and other places. All ſoldiers, unfit for farther ſervice, are to be ſent to England, and recommended to Chelſea hoſpital; their diſcharges and clearances are to be left with Colonel Fraſer, who will forward thoſe men by the earlieſt opportunity. We are informed that the enemy are cantoned between Jacques Cartier and les Trois Rivieres.

13th. The baggage of the troops, going on the expedition, was imbarked on the 11th; the General reviewed them on the 12th, and,

* It is with the greateſt pleaſure I record it here, for the honour of this army, that there was not the leaſt diſtruſt, grumbling, or appearance of diſcontent, on this occaſion, from any individual whatſoever.

on

on the 13th, they went on board their tranſports: the right brigade at five in the morning, and the left at the ſame hour in the afternoon. Theſe embarkations were extremely well conducted by our two Brigadiers, notwithſtanding ſome few irregularities committed by our poor fellows, in conſequence of their being at this juncture indulged with a ſmall advance of money, in part of their reſpective balances. 1760. July.

Different ſignals were this day appointed for Commanding Officers of battalions; for Adjutants, Quarter-Maſters, Majors of brigade, the Officers commanding the detachment of royal artillery, floating-batteries, and rangers; Quarter-Maſters-General, brigades, armed veſſels, and floating-batteries; alſo when to weigh, ſail, and come to an anchor, &c. &c. but, as the reader has already ſeen variety of ſailing orders and inſtructions in the courſe of theſe volumes, it is no longer neceſſary to particulariſe them. At three o'clock, P. M. a ſignal was made to prepare to weigh, and, as ſoon as it was tide of flood, our fleet ſailed with a fair wind, ran till ſeven, and then came to an anchor in ſight of the church of St. Croix, on the ſouth ſhore; and Point au Tremble, on the north: here the river is about three leagues over, the lands high on each ſide, with a tolerably clear country, interſperſed with a few ſmall coppices. 14th.

We weighed, this morning, with a favourable wind, at a quarter paſt four; at ſix we doubled Point au Tremble, and at half paſt ſeven Jacques Cartier; this fortreſs is ſituated on a bold commanding eminence, its works conſiſting of faſcines, earth, and ſtockades, with felled trees laid from the ſummit of the height to the water's edge, extending a conſiderable way above and below the fort; and, in order to render it more ſecure to the river, if there was any beach below, it appears to have been removed either by the perpetual flux and reflux of the waters, or by art: this obſervation I made in my return to Quebec, when the tide of ebb was very low; as the land is ſo extremely high, it was impoſſible, from our ſhips, to get any view of the north 15th.

1760. July. side of the place, which, I presume, to be the most accessible part of it. The garrison fired several shot, and threw some shells at our fleet; but, the river being broad here, and the channel running close by the south shore, we were beyond their reach. After we had passed Jacques Cartier, the river narrowed, until we opened the church and village of Chambaud, at the distance of three leagues, where it widened considerably: here we came to an anchor about nine o'clock A. M. in ten fathom water. We discovered two large galiots far a-head of us, under Dutch colours, with white jacks, and of an uncommon construction, who, as soon as they perceived us, sheered off. The north and south inhabitants are all in arms, terrified, no doubt, at their approaching fate; it is not probable they ever saw so numerous a fleet in this part of their country; we amount to about thirty-two sail, besides nine floating-batteries, with a number of flat-bottomed boats and batteaus. In the evening some boats went, at low water, to sound the channel, through what are called the Rapids of Richlieu; they found, from six feet to six fathom, irregular soundings, and the navigation difficult, by reason of the different turnings; a detachment of the enemy, incamped at Chambaud, fired a gun and some musketry at our boats, but without effect. From the channel, which is nearly central, to the north and south shores, the river is shallow and full of rocks, whose heads appear above the surface, like stepping-stones in a ford: at high water the tide rises here about nine feet.

16th. At seven this morning the Porcupine, with part of our fleet, weighed, to work through the Rapids; about eight a battery of three guns, from the church, opened on them, and the galiots a-head played at the same time, but these were soon beat off by our floating-batteries: two transports ran a-ground, and got off again without any damage, it being tide of flood; our armed vessels and the Porcupine continued a brisk cannonade with the enemy while they passed, whereby a Lieutenant and three privates of the seventy-eighth regiment were killed, and a few others wounded: the tide being

being too far ſpent, the ſecond diviſion remained below the Rapids, and the others came to an anchor above the church, out of the range of the enemy's artillery. In the evening the Rapids were again ſounded, and the floating-batteries, with the flat-bottomed boats, returned to the lower diviſion, without any annoyance from the guns on ſhore. Two companies of grenadiers went down the river about night-fall. 1760. July.

Our fleet were alarmed, late laſt night, by a large uncommon fire which the enemy made on the Point at de Chambaud, and appeared to us, for ſome time, like a fire-ſtage; many ſignals of this kind now ſhew themſelves on both ſides of the river. The grenadiers returned this morning; they were detached to reconnoitre Jacques Cartier, and amuſe the garriſon: they did not perceive any alteration, for, after they had, by feints, alarmed the enemy, they appeared numerous, beat to arms, and manned their works; we were in hopes, by the number of troops a-ſhore, attending our fleet, and watching our motions, to have found that fortreſs left to an inconſiderable force.— Three of our floating-batteries cannonaded the camp at Chambaud, for an hour, without any return, and obliged them to change their ground. The General has judiciouſly ordered one pint of vinegar per week to be iſſued to every ſoldier. This afternoon a command of one Major, two Captains, ſix Subalterns, and two hundred men, with an Officer and fifty rangers, were ordered to prepare immediately to land: we put into our boats at night-fall, and rendezvouſed at the Major's ſhip; our orders are "to go down "the river about three leagues, land on the ſouth ſhore, and take "poſt in a houſe; then to detach the rangers, with a covering "party of one hundred men, to ſurpriſe and rout a party of regu- "lars, who are poſted a-breaſt of that diviſion of our fleet below "the Rapids; as ſoon as this ſervice ſhall be performed, the covering "party are to fire three vollies on the point of land which projects "into the river; this will be anſwered by three guns from the "Diana, whereupon the Major is to reimbark his men, and return 17th.

to

1760. July. to their reſpective ſhips." About ten o'clock we fell down the river with the tide of ebb, and landed at the pariſh of St. Croix without any oppoſition; but, unluckily, our boats grounded on a bar of ſand before we were near the ſhore, which deceived us not a little; for, upon our jumping out, we had not above one foot of water, and, as we moved forward to approach the ſhore, we got into deeper water up to our waiſts; ſo that, had we not uſed the precaution of ſecuring our ammunition, it would have been intirely damaged. We loſt no time in forming upon the beach, but we had ſtill greater difficulties to encounter; for the land above us was immenſely ſteep, and every-where ſo thickly covered with felled trees, that, after many repeated efforts, we found it impracticable to aſcend; it was therefore thought adviſable to march along ſhore to the diſtance of half a mile, where, after incredible labour, we clambered up the rugged hill, without any accident or moleſtation; when we had gained the ſummit, we fell into a road through a fertile country, which we followed, obſerving the courſe of the river upwards; this led us to a farm-houſe, where we took poſt: and here the rangers and covering party were immediately detached, purſuſuant to orders. The inhabitants abandoned their habitations, and retired to the woods: at day-light ſome of them ſhewed themſelves in the ſkirts of their cover, but, notwithſtanding the moſt friendly ſignals being made to them to come out and ſurrender, they ſculked off; however, as they made no reſiſtance, we did not moleſt them in any reſpect, though we had it in our power to deprive them of black cattle, pigs, ſheep, and vegetables, in which they abounded.

18th. At day-break this morning, the rangers, from an eminence, got a view of the enemy, and, acquainting the Captain of the covering party with their ſituation, the neceſſary meaſures were taken to ſurpriſe and ſurround them: accordingly the regulars occupied the road in two places, above and below them, to cut off their retreat; and the rangers ſeized the high ground behind them, ruſhed down,

and

and gave them a fire: this the enemy, in great confuſion, returned, and then, attempting to eſcape, the two diviſions of the covering party poured in upon them, and hemmed them in, whereby the whole were almoſt killed, wounded, or made priſoners. This detachment conſiſted of about forty of the colony-troops, commanded by a Lieutenant, who was mortally wounded. The captives being ſecured, the ſignals were made, and boats, covered with floating-batteries, put off, reimbarked our men, and returned to their reſpective ſhips: the priſoners were taken on board the Diana; by them we are informed, that there are two armies advancing into the province, one by lake Ontario from Oſwego, and the other by lake Champlain from Crown-Point; but that the French Generals are more alarmed at the approach of our fleet and forces, they being ignorant of our numbers, and ſenſible we have not ſo many obſtacles to encounter and retard us, as thoſe armies on the other ſide of the colony. A battalion of grenadiers landed at the Point where the enemy were way-laid, to refreſh their men, and awe the country. The General and Colonel Burton, accompanied by Captain Deane, with a detachment of eighty men, and four floating-batteries, paſſed the Rapids, to join the diviſion at anchor off Groendine; the enemy endeavoured to interrupt them with their ſhot, which was expended in vain: at their junction they ſpied a large batteau deeply laden, rowing along ſhore near to Chambaud; whereupon a floating-battery was ſent to chaſtiſe them, and, having cauſed the hands to abandon their veſſel, one of our pinnaces put off, took the batteau, and brought her away, under a heavy diſcharge of muſketry; we had one ſailor killed and another wounded; the cargo conſiſted of flour, meal, barley, &c. which was ſold in the fleet for eight pounds, and ſhared among the captors. The General and his party returned in the evening without any annoyance, and about ten o'clock the battalion of grenadiers returned to their ſhips; they and the rangers took a circuit of twenty miles, ſaw many of the inhabitants, ſome of whom delivered up their arms, and declared, 'it

1760. July.

July. 1760. 'it was with the greateſt reluctance on their part that we meet with 'any oppoſition from them; that they hope the conteſt will be 'decided in our favour this year, that they may remain in peace 'and quietneſs; moreover, they were rejoiced at our landing, as it 'furniſhed them with an excuſe to return to their habitations, and 'ceaſe all farther hoſtilities.' Theſe people, contrary to their expectations, ſeeing themſelves amicably received, immediately produced their butter, eggs, milk, &c. and trafficked with our troops, taking ſalt pork in exchange. In the evening the French Lieutenant died of his wound.

19th. Being detained here by contrary winds, the remainder of the troops landed for refreſhment; the rangers lay a-ſhore laſt night. The corpſe of the deceaſed Officer were ſent to Chambaud under a flag of truce. The intire pariſh of St. Croix ſurrendered to-day, and delivered up their arms: by a manuſcript found in one of their houſes, dated the 4th of June, it appears, that the enemy had a project on foot to lay a boom a-croſs the channel in the Rapids, but, recollecting the precautions that were taken laſt year by Admiral Saunders in working up to Quebec, they conſidered it would be ineffectual, and therefore laid it aſide; the troops returned to their ſhips in the evening. The Penzance will not go higher up, and the Diana will only accompany us as far as the Three Rivers, where ſhe is to be ſtationed for the protection of the navigation.

20th. The wind came to the eaſtward this morning, and, as ſoon as the tide ſerved, a ſignal was made to unmoor; but, coming a-head in leſs than an hour, and blowing freſh, we again came to an anchor. The grenadiers landed to-day, and Colonel Howe refreſhes the troops of the upper diviſion in like manner; by this means the army continues very healthy, to which the milk and vegetables, change of air, and frequent exerciſe, greatly contribute.

The battalion-detachments diſimbarked to-day, and the General went, with the rangers and a company of light infantry, ſeveral miles up the country: fifty-five men of St. Croix, and ſeventy-nine

of

of the parish de Lobiniere, took the oath of neutrality. Some of his Excellency's arguments to these people were to this effect: 'Who can carry on or support the war without ships, artillery, ammunition, or provisions? At whose mercy are your habitations, and that harvest which you expect to reap this summer, together with all you are possessed of in this world? Therefore consider your own interest, and provoke us no more.' Then, turning to a Priest, he subjoined — 'The Clergy are the source of all the mischiefs that have befallen the poor Canadians, whom they keep in ignorance, and excite to wickedness and their own ruin. No doubt you have heard that I hanged a Captain of militia; that I have a Priest and some Jesuits on board a ship of war, to be transmitted to Great Britain: beware of the snare they have fallen into; *preach the Gospel*, which alone is your province; adhere to your duty, and do not presume, directly or indirectly, to intermeddle with military matters, or the quarrel between the two *Crowns*.' The troops reimbarked in the evening. It was this day ordered, 'when the wind is fair, to pass Chambaud; the men are not to be allowed to expose themselves upon deck, but to be kept below.' 1760. July.

A grenadier deserted yesterday, when the troops were a-shore. The General, having received intelligence that a body of Indians are sent to the south side of the river to annoy and pick off our men, has this day dispatched a flag of truce to M. du Mas, Commanding Officer at Chambaud, to assure him, 'That, if these savages are not instantly recalled, or any barbarities should be committed upon our troops, they shall have orders to give no quarter either to regulars, or others, that may fall into our hands; and that the country shall undergo military execution, wherever we land.' The battalion corps and grenadiers are to land alternately, without farther orders; and a market is established under proper regulations, for the benefit of this armament. The tide, or current, runs here between four and five miles in an hour. The parish of St. Antoine 23d.

1760. July. have this day delivered up their arms, and taken the oath of neutrality; as the form of ſwearing is ſolemn, it may not be improper to particulariſe it. The men ſtand in a circle, hold up their right hands, repeat each his own name, and then ſay, —

'Do ſeverally ſwear, in the preſence of Almighty God, that we 'will not take up arms againſt George the Second, King of Great 'Britain, &c. &c. or againſt his troops or ſubjects; nor give any 'intelligence to his enemies, directly or indirectly:

So Help me GOD.'

A ſoldier, who deſerted us on the 29th of April, returned to us this day. A Frenchman informs us, that four batteaus of Indians croſſed over to the ſouth country early this morning. The troops are ordered not to load their arms when a-ſhore, except the flanking parties, who are thrown into the woods; and no loaded arms are to be taken on ſhip-board, to prevent accidents.

24th. A Serjeant of the French regulars, diſguiſed in the habit of a Canadian peaſant, was ſent, by the enemy, to the ſouth ſide of the river, in the capacity of a ſpy, hoping, through him, to get an exact account of our numbers, and our intended plan of operations: this fellow was diſcovered by ſome of our men who had been in the French ſervice, and brought to the General; being examined, he produced a forged letter in his vindication, from a Captain of militia, who, being immediately ſummoned, made oath, that the man was an intire ſtranger to him, and the letter was not his hand-writing. After the Serjeant had undergone a ſtrict examination, and the men who had detected him having ſworn to his ſerving in the character of a ſpy laſt year, he was condemned to be hanged, except he would make ſome important diſcoveries; and was accordingly reconducted a-ſhore for execution: however, being brought to the fatal tree, and diſdaining ſo ignoble an exit, he ſtepped up to the Commanding Officer, and requeſted he would remand him to the frigate, and he would ſatisfy the General in every particular he wiſhed

wiſhed to be informed of: this being complied with, he ſays, 'that 1760. July.
'the whole force of the enemy, between les Trois Rivieres and Que-
'bec, conſiſts of ſeven picquets, and one company of grenadiers,
'amounting to four hundred men; that two battalions of regulars,
'with a body of Canadians and Indians, are poſted at Iſle Royale,
'Iſle au Noix, Iſle Galot, &c. &c. and that the remainder of the
'French army are cantoned between the Three Rivers and Mon-
'treal, who, upon the firſt ſignal, are to repair, without loſs of
'time, to the iſland of Montreal, and defend it to the laſt extre-
'mity;' he adds, 'that their capital is a place of no ſtrength; that
'they have no artillery there, except the braſs field-pieces taken
'from us on the 28th of April; and, at the Three Rivers, are ſix
'pieces of cannon, one mortar, and about thirty men. Moreover,
'that our armament ſtrikes the greateſt terror imaginable, as the
'enemy are apprehenſive leſt General Murray ſhould attempt to
'complete the conqueſt of Canada before the arrival of the other
'two armies, our forces being calculated at four thouſand regulars,
'beſides a body of marines and rangers.' A deſerter came in this morning from Montreal, who acquaints us, that the French army are greatly diſſatisfied and mutinous; that the Canadians are abandoning their poſts, and concealing their effects; and, finally, that one quarter of a pound of meat, with a pound of indifferent black bread, to each man per day, is their only allowance, having no other kind of proviſions, nor brandy nor wine. The Louiſbourg diviſion is arrived at the iſland of Coudre.

A ſignal to unmoor this morning; we ſailed ſoon after, and paſſed 26th.
the Rapids without any accident, or annoyance from the enemy's battery; at ſix o'clock we joined the upper diviſion off Groendine, and came to an anchor: the rangers, having lain a-ſhore for ſeveral nights, marched up the country a-breaſt of our fleet. In ſailing through the Rapids of Richlieu we found ſix fathom water and upwards: we weighed again at twelve, and got a run of two hours, when, the wind coming right a-head, we dropped anchor.

1760. July. Two armed boats went up this morning to the Three Rivers to ſound, and, contrary to their expectations, diſcovered a channel along the ſouth ſhore, and ſo cloſe in with the land, that they expected to have been fired upon, a body of Canadians having drawn up with their arms on the heights above them; but they were not moleſted: a perſon called out in our language, 'What water have 'you, Engliſhmen?' And being anſwered, 'Sufficient to bring up 'our ſhips, and knock you and your houſes to pieces; if you dare 'moleſt us, we will land our troops, burn your habitations, and 'deſtroy your country;' whereupon an Officer, as is ſuppoſed, ſtarting up, replied, — 'Let us alone, and you ſhall not meet with 'any annoyance; if your Officers chuſe to come a-ſhore and re-'freſh themſelves, I will be anſwerable for their being at liberty to 'return, when they pleaſe.' This invitation was not accepted, yet, as a mark of theſe people's (compulſive) ſincerity, two canoes put off to our boats, with a quantity of greens and ſalading. The troops from Louiſbourg are ordered not to diſimbark, or make the leaſt delay at Quebec. We are to ſail, for the future, in two diviſions.

27th. We worked up to-day, and came to anchor off Batiſte camp on the north ſhore, and St. Peter's on the ſouth ſhore; in our ſoundings we had not leſs than four, nor more than ſeven fathom water: we now perceive that the tide does not reach this part of the river, the current ſetting always one way. A great number of Canadians, croſſing the river St. Ann, on the north ſide, our floating-batteries made towards them, fired ſeveral rounds, and obliged them to retire farther into the country: they were on horſeback, filing upwards to the Three Rivers. A body of men in arms being aſſembled, in a hoſtile manner, on a plain, a little way from the church of Batiſte camp, an armed ſloop and two floating-batteries edged over, and cannonaded them for half an hour; the ſpirited Canadians boldly ſallied down within reach of muſketry, fired upon the veſſels, and retired: this was repeated, until at length a ſhot

took place among them, killed one man, and diſabled two others; then they thought proper to deſiſt: we ſuſtained no other damage than having the rigging of one of our batteries cut away. 1760. July.

The Diana, with Colonel Burton's diviſion, joined us this morning, at nine o'clock, when the whole fleet weighed; and, after two hours' pleaſant ſailing, we came to an anchor off Point Champlain, where there ſtands an elegant church: the country ſtill continues high on the ſouth ſide, but flat and acceſſible on the north, ſince we doubled the entrance of the river St. Ann. We diſcovered a large body of the enemy laſt night on the north ſhore, both regulars and militia, who narrowly watch our motions, having marched this morning, in great order, upon ſeeing our ſhips get under way; a ſloop came expreſs from Quebec, with an account of the arrival of the troops from Louiſbourg, conſiſting of two regiments, who are to reinforce us without any other delay, than to drop ſome unneceſſary baggage below, and take in wood and water. 28th.

The flat-bottomed boats returned to Quebec, on the evening of the 29th, to eſcort the Louiſbourg diviſion. Our fleet ſailed this morning at ſeven o'clock, the enemy politely attending us; at ten we came to an anchor in ſeven fathom water: the channel runs by the north ſhore; the leaſt ſoundings we had were three fathom and a half; at twelve the Porcupine ſloop, armed ſchooner, and floating batteries, with the ſecond brigade, weighed again; at four, P. M. we were obliged to come to an anchor about a league below the Three Rivers, the Porcupine having grounded a-breaſt of the lower part of the pariſh of St. Magdalene, on the north ſide; and la Puante or Beçancour, on the ſouth: ſome of our largeſt tranſports luckily eſcaped ſharing the ſame fate; the Duke, a cat of three hundred and fifty tuns, with our detachment on board, happily avoided this ſhoal, by ſuddenly laying the helm hard a-ſtarboard, which brought us into deep water: our ſoundings from three fathom and a quarter to four and a half. The ſloop of war put out a large anchor a conſiderable way a-head, hoping thereby to warp off; but, by the 31ſt.

breaking

1760. July. breaking of the cable, ſhe was compelled to remain faſt until the next day, and thereby loſt a favourable wind, with a loom gale. An iſland is ſituated in the entrance of the river Puante, and, in the opening on the eaſt ſide of it, we ſaw a neat Indian ſettlement, and a ſmall ſloop at anchor, with a boat a-ſtern of her: our floating-batteries looked in, but, not having an armed boat to cover them, came off without making any attempt. Blowing weather this evening.

Auguſt. 1ſt. On the 1ſt inſtant the Porcupine made a ſecond attempt to warp off, and broke another cable; ſhe then took out her guns and part of her ballaſt, by which means they towed her into deep water, without any difficulty, or damage to her bottom, having grounded on a looſe ſand; the Diana rubbed yeſterday, but received no prejudice. The batteries at Trois Rivieres being thought to be more reſpectable than they are in reality, it was recommended to put the troops into boats, and other ſmall craft drawing little water, until they ſhould paſs theſe batteries; but ſome boats, with a covering party and two floats, being ſent once more (on the 2d) to ſound the ſouth coaſt.

2d. The French, having confidently aſſerted there being only one channel, found another, with ſufficient depth of water, by which the fleet may paſs without any apprehenſions of annoyance, the river being there of a conſiderable breadth.

3d. On this day the fleet weighed, and, a few hours after, came to an anchor in ſeven fathom water off the point and church of St. Magdalene, on the north ſhore: the different ſoundings in our courſe were from four and a half to nine fathom; M. Bourlemacque is now at les Trois Rivieres, at the head of ſix thouſand men. The General, with the Colonels Burton and Howe, went up this evening to reconnoitre.

4th. This day Major Agnew, with a detachment, were ſent to the pariſh of Beçancour to cover ſome wood-boats, the tranſports being in want of fewel: the Major was told, by a Captain of militia,

'that, four or five days ago, the Officer, commanding at les Trois 1760. August.
'Rivieres, received orders from M. Vaudreuil not to fire on our
'fleet, except he ſhould be firſt attacked; that to-morrow he
'will deliver up the arms of the pariſh, the inhabitants whereof
'are determined to ſubmit, and take the oath of neutrality: the
'Prieſts and militia Officers having received directions on this
'head from the Governor-General, and to make the beſt terms
'for themſelves and their diſtricts, wherever we may be diſpoſed
'to land; the Captain then added, that theſe orders were in con-
'ſequence of a reſolution formed to capitulate for the colony,
'as ſoon as General Amherſt ſhould arrive on the iſland of Mon-
'treal, they having received undoubted intelligence that his Ex-
'cellency is advancing with a numerous army.' — At four, P. M. both diviſions unmoored, and worked up a-breaſt of les Trois Rivieres, where we came to an anchor, cloſe to the ſouth ſhore, in ſeven fathom water. This government derives its name from one ſingle river, which is about two leagues and an half to the northward of St. Lawrence, where it diſcharges itſelf, branches out into three ſtreams or rivulets, not fordable except for horſes, and are interſected by two iſlands, or uninhabited ſtrips of land, producing only ruſhes and under-wood; the capital, which is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance higher up, is but an open ſtraggling village, with batteries cloſe to the banks of this river; it lies very low, and is a fair object for a bombardment: the French have always hitherto dignified it with the appellation of a garriſon town of great conſequence.

About ten o'clock laſt night the enemy were alarmed, and fired 5th.
a volley of muſketry oppoſite to our fleet; this was immediately ſucceeded by an irregular diſcharge from right to left, which continued above a quarter of an hour; we were at a loſs to what cauſe to attribute this commotion, but learned this morning that it proceeded from one of our traders having attempted to cut off a French ſloop from the lowermoſt of the three rivers: they got

1760. August. got her anchor into the boat, but, being diſcovered, were obliged to put off without their prize; the Maſter of the trader, and two of his men, were wounded: at that inſtant another boat that was paſſing within the reach of the ſhore, having an Officer on board who was diſtributing orders, was hailed by the enemy, and aſked —Are ye French in that boat?—Are ye coming a-ſhore? To each of theſe interrogatories, being anſwered in the negative, they replied, 'Then you may freely paſs.' The inhabitants of the ſouth coaſt come on board our ſhips without reſerve, ſupplying us with vegetables, poultry, eggs, and whatſoever elſe they can ſpare, in exchange for ſalt pork and beef; on the former of theſe three articles they ſet the higheſt value, on account of the eels, and other fiſh, which they are deſirous to preſerve againſt the winter. The Canadians ſay, if our fleet ſhould remain here a week to intercept the communication between the garriſon and the ſouth country, they, being in ſuch diſtreſs for proviſions, would be compelled to diſperſe and abandon their works at the village; but a delay here on this account would be abſurd, as that wretched place muſt ſhare the fate of Montreal, and the remainder of the country, upon our junction with the other armies acting by the lakes. The enemy appear jealous of our landing at Trois Rivieres, and are therefore very diligent in throwing up retrenchments to cover the moſt acceſſible places.

6th. The inhabitants of the pariſh of Beçancour are become ſubjects to his Britannic Majeſty.

7th. The General received intelligence, this evening, that a body of Indians are come to our landing-place, on the ſouth ſide, to way-lay the next boats that ſhall put a-ſhore: in conſequence whereof, a poſitive order is iſſued to prevent any boats attempting to land, without expreſs commands from his Excellency.

8th. Our fleet ſailed this morning; upon the ſignal being made to get under ſail, the armed veſſels and floating-batteries ranged themſelves half channel over, oppoſite to the enemy's batteries,

and

and remained in that ſituation until the whole of our convoy had paſſed the village: the troops, apparently about two thouſand, lined their different works, and were in general cloathed as regulars, except a very few Canadians, and about fifty naked Picts, or ſavages, their bodies being painted of a reddiſh colour, their faces of different colours, which I plainly diſcerned with my glaſs; and otherwiſe whimſically disfigured, to ſtrike terror into their enemies: their light cavalry, who paraded along ſhore, ſeemed to be well appointed, cloathed in blue, faced with ſcarlet; but their Officers had white uniforms; in fine, their troops, batteries, fair-looking houſes, their ſituation on the banks of a delightful river, our fleet ſailing triumphantly before them, with our floats drawn up in line of battle, the country on both ſides interſperſed with neat ſettlements, together with the verdure of the fields and trees, afforded, with the addition of clear pleaſant weather, as agreeable a proſpect as the moſt lively imagination can conceive. The ground round the E. and N. E. parts of the village is high, with a ſteep ſandy bank to the river, and a breaſt-work on the ſummit of it, terminating, or rather communicating with, two ſmall redoubts, thrown up on two points of land: the upper part is low, almoſt level with the water; but they have been at much pains to intrench it to a windmill, about a quarter of a mile above the place, where they have erected a ſtrong redoubt, communicating again to a larger one, on an eminence about three hundred yards N. W. of the mill, where I could perceive they had ſome guns mounted: and, between the village, the intrenchments along ſhore, and theſe two redoubts, were various traverſes and other works, indicating an intention to have diſputed every inch of ground with us, if we had made a deſcent there; which it may be preſumed they expected. Their houſes are built of wood, except the churches and convents, which are of ſtone, and very magnificent; yet, upon the whole, the village of Trois Rivieres has all the appearance of an infant ſettlement, ſituated in a barren part of the country; immediately oppoſite to it is the pariſh of the

1760. Auguſt.

1760. Auguſt. Recollects, who have a college at the Three Rivers: the land there is well cultivated, ſeemingly fertile, and abounding in every thing.—After we had paſſed the inſignificant capital of this much boaſted government, the garriſon filed off to the right, in order to attend our motions, preceded by the ſavages and light cavalry; before twelve we came to an anchor in ten fathom water, but, the wind then freſhening, we inſtantly weighed, and continued our courſe another hour, when it died away, and we came to again in ſeven fathom and an half, at the entrance of Lake St. Peter; the lands in general, on the banks of this lake, are wild and woody. The river gradually widens from Trois Rivieres to the gulph, but the navigation is difficult; many of our veſſels, having grounded, were obliged to lighten, before they could get off: the center of the river is the deepeſt channel, inclining rather to the ſouth country; our ſoundings very irregular from three to nine, and once we got thirteen fathom. At half after three o'clock we worked higher up in the lake, and, before five, we anchored in three fathom, but, finding our ſituation indifferent, with a proſpect of blowing weather, we weighed again, and ſailed until eight in the evening, when the whole brought to, in two fathom and an half. We had a view of a neat Indian ſettlement, called Nachiſſipe, on the north ſide of the lake, with a decent church at a ſmall diſtance above it, almoſt oppoſite to the river Nicodel, on the ſouth coaſt: this lake is of a circular form, about ſix leagues a-croſs; and the waters remarkably green like the ocean; our ſoundings from two to three fathom.

9th. Some boats went a-head this morning to ſound, and were chaced by one of the enemy's galiots: the fleet weighed at eight o'clock, and we may rather be ſaid to have plowed than ſailed; for our largeſt ſhips mudded the water with the ſoft ſand or ſlime at bottom, which was diſcernible in their ſtern-way; and at length, the Porcupine having grounded about a quarter paſt ten, we came to an anchor in two fathom, the only ſoundings we had in our courſe; and ſurrounded

with the decayed ſtumps of trees. Hitherto we have kept too much to the north coaſt; for our boats, having ſounded in different parts of the lake, found a channel with three fathom, ſteady ſoundings, nearer to, and within a league of, the ſouth country; ſo that our ſhips ſheered over there in the evening. Lord Rollo, who commands the regiments from Louiſbourg, has received orders to land five hundred men on the north ſhores, to diſarm and ſwear the inhabitants, whenever it can be accompliſhed without retarding his junction with our armament. 1760. Auguſt.

Several of our ſhips warped a-head to-day, and the Porcupine has taken out her guns, and part of her ballaſt, which were put on board of veſſels drawing leſs water, to inable her to get off. Ordered this evening that the floating-batteries, with the grenadiers of the firſt brigade, and the whole of our light troops, are to be in readineſs to land at the village of St. Francis, to-morrow morning, under the command of Major Agnew; an Officer and a Quarter-Maſter from each battalion and detachment are to go a-ſhore at the ſame time, to provide vegetables and other refreſhments for their reſpective corps; theſe troops are to endeavour to get ſome intelligence of the army under Brigadier Haviland, to whom a ſmall party of rangers are to be detached. 10th.

The morning being wet, with a heavy fog abroad, the ſignal for the grenadiers and light troops to rendezvous was not thrown out until ten o'clock, when it began to clear up: between eleven and twelve, they rowed off under cover of the floating-batteries; about two we made the entrance of the river St. Francis, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, when the boats were ordered to lie on their oars, that the Commanding Officer might get a little a-head to reconnoitre: the enemy, as if jealous of our deſigns, then ſhewed themſelves from the ſkirts of a thick wood, which covers the ſhore on each ſide of the river, and appeared numerous; but the General, wiſely conſidering the neceſſity of acting with precaution to inſure the ſucceſs of the campaign, ordered Major Agnew not 11th.

to attempt a deſcent, if he ſaw any appearance of troops, as he naturally concluded they would endeavour to cut off our communication with that river: therefore, after viewing each other for ſome time, we rowed back to our ſhips; a flag of truce was to have been ſent to the Captain of the militia, at St. Francis, to ſummon the pariſh to ſurrender; but Monſieur Bourlemacque, and his regulars, having given us ocular proof of their being there before us, rendered it needleſs to give ourſelves any farther trouble. Towards ſix in the evening, the wind being favourable, the fleet weighed, and, after a run of three hours, we came to an anchor in two fathom and an half; our courſe was W. S. W.

12th. Seven flat-bottomed boats, who had been detached to pilot up the Louiſbourg diviſion, rejoined us late laſt night; when they came away, the troops were a-ſhore at Point Champlain: Lord Rollo firſt landed five hundred men at Batiſte camp, marched from thence to the church of Champlain, and diſarmed thoſe pariſhes, with that of St. Magdalene. All the drums on board each ſhip in the fleet are ordered to beat the regular beatings every morning and evening, and the Fifers to join them, taking the ſignal from the Drummers on board the Porcupine. A Pilot, who ſurrendered to the Diana frigate, and has been tranſmitted to us, ſays, that, in our courſe through St. Peter's lake, we kept too much to the north; that the channel is on the ſouth ſide, and has not leſs than three fathom ſoundings. We have the pleaſure to be aſcertained of the ſucceſs of ſome of our ſhips of war in the bay of Chaleurs: the Fame, Dorſetſhire, Achilles, Scarborough and Repulſe, under Commodore Byron, from Louiſbourg, with the Prince of Orange, Rocheſter, Eurus, and three armed veſſels from Quebec, all in purſuit of the ſame object, met in the bay, to the bottom of which they detached a ſmall craft to reconnoitre; who ſoon returned, and reported that a French frigate, with twenty-one ſail of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips, were at anchor off Riſtigouchi, a ſettlement which

which the enemy had on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, and was a kind of capital to the barbarous rabble of that country. — On the 9th of July, the Commodore, ſeeing them buſily employed in landing their ſtores, diſembarked a body of ſeamen, under proper Officers, who ſpiritedly advanced to attack the village, and the two batteries along ſhore, while our ſhips cannonaded thoſe of the enemy: the frigate, called the Machaux, and mounting thirty guns, ſoon ſtruck her colours; which example was followed by the other ſhips, and, the inhabitants thrown into conſternation, ſome fled, and others ſurrendered. The wine, brandy, and other proviſions, with other valuable articles, being removed from the enemy's ſtore-ſhips, and diſperſed on board of our men of war, the Commodore burned and deſtroyed the whole convoy, together with the batteries on ſhore, and the ſettlement of Riſtigouchi before-mentioned, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, with a large magazine of fiſh; and, in ſhort, every thing that theſe wretched people were poſſeſſed of; this important ſervice was admirably performed by our united ſquadrons under the Captains Byron and Wallis, who, for their ſpirit, diligence and activity, are juſtly intitled to a great ſhare of applauſe. — At five o'clock, A. M. our fleet weighed; our ſoundings from three to four and an half, until we cleared St. Peter's lake, at the W. S. W. end of which the channel runs through a clutch of iſlands, where we got into deep water, from five to ſeven fathom and an half, with bold ſhores; we were interrupted in our courſe by a boom thrown by the enemy a-croſs the river, ſo that we were obliged to come to an anchor at nine o'clock, until this obſtacle could be removed. I think nothing could equal the beauties of our navigation this morning, with which I was exceedingly charmed: the meandring courſe of the channel, ſo narrow that an active perſon might have ſtepped a-ſhore from our tranſports, either to the right or left; the awfulneſs and ſolemnity of the dark foreſts with which theſe iſlands are covered, together with the fragrancy of the ſpontaneous fruits, ſhrubs, and flowers; the

1760. Auguſt.

verdure

1760. August. verdure of the water by the reflection of the neighbouring woods, the wild chirping notes of the feathered inhabitants, the masts and sails of ships appearing as if among the trees, both a-head and a-stern; heightened by the promiscuous noise of the seamen, and the confused chatter of the rapturous troops on their decks; formed, all together, such an inchanting diversity, as would be far superior to the highest and most laboured description; in short the novelist and the painter could here find copious entertainment in their respective professions, exhibited in the rural and romantic, and in the greatest perfection. — The boom consisted of a sixteen-inch cable, run through a parcel of thick iron rings, covered with spars or clamps of wood, lashed round with cordage: at the two extremities, on two islands situated rather obliquely than otherwise, were large square redoubts, so shaded by trees that they were not perceptible until the ships advanced close upon them; our seamen were three hours employed in cutting away this boom, and were rewarded for their trouble by a great anchor, to which it was moored in the center of the channel. About noon we weighed again, the fleet being ordered to sail in a single line, the largest ships thrown into two divisions, forming the van and rear, with the small craft in the center; between six and seven we made the parish and hamlet of Sorrel, watered by a river of the same name, seemingly navigable only for boats; by which the lakes George and Champlain communicate with the river St. Lawrence: about eight we came to an anchor, in seven fathom, steady soundings, between Sorrel and the island of St. Ignatius. At the left side of the entrance of the river Sorrel the enemy have established a post, to frustrate our junction with Brigadier Haviland's corps, or acquiring any intelligence from that quarter; to which end the inhabitants of the parish, reinforced by other militia and four hundred marines, have intrenched themselves in a very respectable manner along shore, to prevent a descent: and, in case their lines should be forced, they have thrown up other works at the

church

church and windmill; and, a little higher, a ſquare picqueted fort, where I can obſerve they have mounted a number of ſwivels. 1760. Auguſt.

Our fleet worked higher up, and, in the ſpace of two hours and an half, came to an anchor, in nine fathom; the river now begins to widen, and we have a delightful country on every ſide of us. A ſoldier, who deſerted us laſt year, came to the iſland of St. Ignatius, and ſurrendered to ſome of our boats who went a-ſhore for refreſhments; by him we learn that M. Bourlemacque is arrived at Sorrel, with two battalions of regulars and a body of militia from St. Francis. At three o'clock, P. M. the Porcupine, with part of the fleet and our floating-batteries, fell down again a-breaſt of the entrance of Sorrel river, where they came to an anchor: ſome flat-bottomed boats are detached to haſten up the Louiſbourg diviſion. The enemy report that they have got a frigate of thirty-ſix guns, which, with thier two galiots and ſeveral floating-batteries, are to be ſent down to attack and deſtroy our fleet: in conſequence of this information the remainder of our ſhips were ordered to drop down and anchor a-ſtern of the Porcupine; and ſome guard-boats, covered with three floats, are alſo ordered to moor a conſiderable way a-head at night-fall, and retire in the morning. A boat this morning, rowing from one ſhip to another, kept ſo cloſe to the ſouth ſhore, that a French centinel hailed thoſe who were a-board her, and deſired they would ſteer farther out, or he ſhould be obliged to fire upon them. A Serjeant and four rangers are detached expreſs to Brigadier Haviland. The male inhabitants of the fertile iſland of Ignatius having deſerted their houſes and families to join the enemy, the Quarter-Maſter-General is ordered to land to-morrow, and collect ſuch refreſhments as the iſland affords, which are afterwards to be diſtributed among the troops; the General forbids — 'any pork or ſalt being ſent a-ſhore 'for traffick, the inhabitants having forfeited every thing on the 'iſland by their obſtinacy.' 13th.

The

1760. August 14th. The firſt battalion of grenadiers, with the rangers and a command of five hundred men from the other corps, landed this morning, to make faſcines: this iſland abounds with corn, cattle, and poultry; and here are ſeveral good ſettlements. I ſaw a young man to-day, who eſcaped to us; he was formerly a Fifer in the thirty-fifth regiment, was made priſoner by the Indians at Fort William Henry in 1757, and ſpeaks the French of this country, with great fluency; but, what is moſt remarkable, he cannot utter a ſingle word of his mother-tongue, neither can he underſtand it when ſpoken to him: this is a ſurpriſing inſtance of defect of memory in this youth, now in the eighteenth year of his age; he told me he was glad to ſee the Britiſh army in this country, and happy at the thoughts of regaining his liberty; for, though he was exceedingly well treated by the French, the reflexion of an Engliſhman's being ſold as a ſlave tormented him day and night, and he often harboured thoughts of deſtroying himſelf, but had not reſolution to execute it. In the afternoon, when part of the troops were reimbarked, and half-way to their ſhips, we were alarmed by ſome ſoldiers, who affirmed they ſaw a large body of French regulars actually on their march from the other end of the iſland, flanked by parties of Canadian militia; whereupon, the boats that had put off were called back, and thoſe which were ready to reimbark were marched up to the high ground, and drawn up in order of battle; at the ſame time an expreſs was ſent to the General. The grenadiers and rangers, under Major Agnew, had taken a tour round the iſland, and picked up a great number of ſeamen and diſorderly ſoldiers, who had been plundering the inhabitants; theſe, with the darkneſs of the weather, inclining to rain, and ſome ſhots being wantonly fired by the ſailors at horſes, were the cauſe of the alarm: a ſecond expreſs was about to be detached for the General, when he made his appearance in his barge, after circulating his orders to the reſt of the forces on board to accoutre, and be ready to land at a moment's warning:

by

by this time the grenadiers, rangers, and ſtragglers rejoined us, when the Major aſſured his Excellency, who was now come a-ſhore, that the alarm was groundleſs, and that there was not an enemy on the iſland; the troops were therefore marched down to the beach, re-imbarked, and returned to their reſpective tranſports. The Porcupine and armed veſſels edged over to the ſouth ſhore, cannonaded the enemy at Sorrel, and played ſeveral cohorns into their works. 1760. Auguſt.

The diſorders committed yeſterday a-ſhore, which were the cauſes of the army's being alarmed, were ſeverely, and with great juſtice, cenſured in this day's orders; and the General has declared, that, if any ſoldier preſumes to plunder, or offer any violence to the women on the iſland, he will be inſtantly hanged; Captain Deane has iſſued the like orders to all the ſeamen. The weather, being ſtormy to-day, prevented the troops' landing, as was intended; the enemy are very attentive to all our ſignals; when the laſt was thrown out for the Adjutants of regiments, they aſſembled on the plain within-ſide of their works, formed, and ran down to their trenches with a great ſhout. The people of this country have not ſo much the appearance of poverty, as thoſe immediately in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and the lower country; I have been in a great many farm-houſes ſince I embarked on this expedition, and I may venture to advance, that in every one of them I have ſeen a good loaf, two, or three, according to the number of the family, of excellent wheaten bread; and ſuch of the inhabitants as came on board our ſhips, from time to time, in order to traffick, diſdained our biſcuits, upon being offered refreſhments; and drew ſome good bread from their own pockets to eat with the victuals that were preſented to them; in ſhort, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of the immenſe diſtreſſes and ſtarving condition of the Canadians, I do not find that there is any real want, except for luxuries, viz. pickled pork or beef, ſugar, ſalt, pepper, ginger, ſoap, tobacco, ſpirituous liquors, and wine; the meaner ſort of people drink water, but the beverage of their 15th.

1760. August. betters is ſpruce-beer, ſweetened with maple-ſugar *, inſtead of molaſſes; while their Superiors drink brandy, and a ſmall French red wine, which however they have not in great abundance.

16th. All the troops went a-ſhore on the iſland of Ignatius, that their tranſports may be cleaned out and aired: ſeveral detachments were employed in making faſcines and picquets; the inhabitants returned to their ſettlements, as did thoſe of Iſle du Pas and Iſle de Caſtor, who all delivered up their arms, and took the oath of neutrality: five Indians were ſent to theſe people by M. de Levis, to deſire them to continue to defend their country, and they ſhould have a ſufficient reinforcement to compel us to keep on board our ſhips. The Canadians inform us, that they have heard a heavy firing of cannon for ſeveral days together, which ceaſed on Sunday morning, the 10th inſtant. We are told that M. de Levis and M. du Mas are intrenched, with four thouſand men, at a place called Bartré, between two and three leagues to the ſouthward, and a-breaſt of our fleet; the troops at Sorrel, under M. Bourlemacque, are indefatiga-

* The tree whence this is extracted bears no reſemblance to the maple in Europe; it is as tall as the loftieſt oak, about two yards a half in circumference; the bark brown, the wood of a pale mohogany colour; the ſap which it yields has an exceeding pleaſant taſte, and makes the wholeſomeſt drink in the world, particularly in fevers and other epidemical diſorders. This liquor is drawn by cutting the tree two inches deep, to the length of about one foot: at the lower end of this wound, which does not prejudice the tree, is fixed a ſmall trough, made of reed or cane, about ſix inches long, with a veſſel underneath to receive the ſap; ſome trees will yield five or ſix bottles of this liquor in a day, of which the Americans make ſyrup and ſugar; and is in much eſtimation, agreeing admirably well with the ſtomach: it is accounted an exceeding good pectoral, and I have frequently received great benefit, in violent colds, by eating this ſugar, or diſſolving it in ſmall punch or negus, to promote perſpiration; it is of a dark grey ſandy colour, reſembling a candied kind of bread made by confectioners, but ſo hard and ſolid, that it is not eaſily broken. — In the foregoing manner they bleed the ſpruſs-tree (but the inciſion does not require to be ſo deep or long) whence they extract the fineſt balſam imaginable, moſt gratefully fragrant; is a ſovereign remedy in many diſorders, leſs heating to ſome conſtitutions than balſam of Peru or Capivi, and is of infinite benefit in all external bruiſes or green wounds. — The time for drawing the ſap or liquor from theſe trees is from the middle of February to the middle of April.

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ble in adding to the ſtrength of their works, and we are informed the Prieſt of the pariſh is their principal Engineer. The Louiſbourg diviſion made their appearance far a-ſtern of us this morning, and in the evening ſome boats came up from them to the General. 1760. Auguſt.

The enemy ſtill continue to honour us with their attendance; the Louiſbourg diviſion joined us this morning, and, at ſeven o'clock, the whole fleet weighed together; but, the current being ſtrong, and the wind failing us, we were obliged to come to an anchor about noon, in ſeven fathom: in our ſoundings we had not leſs than five and a half. The diviſion under Lord Rollo did not ſteer our courſe in paſſing through Lake St. Peter, but kept to the ſouthward of thoſe iſlands, where the redoubts were thrown up to cover the boom laid a-croſs the channel. When his Lordſhip lay off St. Francis, an Engliſhman went on board his ſhip to demand protection for himſelf, nineteen of his countrymen, and ten women, who had been carried off, at different times, from our back ſettlements; being aſked why they did not ſurrender to General Murray? he anſwered, that it was their intention, but they were told by the Prieſts, if ever they came among us, they would be inſtantly hanged; however, tired of their captivity, they caſt lots, upon the appearance of the ſuccours from Louiſbourg, to ſee which of them ſhould venture on board, to make application for their enlargement and protection; this being accordingly granted, a ſignal was made to his fellow-captives, who were waiting on the ſhore, and they all came off, with their effects, in batteaus. As theſe ſhips paſſed the Three Rivers, having ſailed up the north channel, they were ſuddenly attacked with a diſcharge of cannon and muſketry: this was a matter of great ſurpriſe, ſuch treatment not being expected; immediately before this happened, a Prieſt, who dined with his Lordſhip on the preceding day, and was hoſpitably entertained, came down to the ſhore, and inquired, in Engliſh, if Lord Rollo was on board? His Lordſhip, being then on deck, took off his hat, and anſwered in the affirmative; whereupon the reverend Judas returned the ſalute, 17th.

1760. August. wiſhing my Lord an agreeable paſſage; which was no ſooner uttered than the ſhip was fired upon, as if that had been the pre-concerted ſignal. After they had paſſed the batteries, a field-piece was dragged along ſhore, which was vigorouſly played until the ſhips were out of reach, while the Indians and Canadians, like a parcel of water-dogs, ran almoſt up to their waiſts in the river, diſcharging their ſmall arms; yet the cauſe of this baſe treachery never could be accounted for. The ſhip ſuffered much in her rigging, and an Officer had a leg ſhot off; the ſhip's Carpenter loſt a leg and arm, a cabbin-boy his thigh, and ſix other ſoldiers and ſailors were alſo wounded. — This afternoon the General's Aid de Camp, in a barge, was warmly fired at from Sorrel, but, luckily, they were not within the range of muſketry: a man, who ſtood upon the ſhore to the S. W. of the enemy, on the oppoſite ſide of the little river, hailed the barge, and begged to be taken off; which was inſtantly complied with, and the man was conducted to the General; he proves to be a deſerter, and informs us, 'that the enemy are now fortifying the iſland of 'Jeſus, above Montreal, and talked of throwing a boom from 'thence a-croſs the river; that they have no veſſels above, except 'the la Marie, a ſloop of war; and he heard ſhe has no guns on 'board; he adds, that the galiots are gone up the river Sorrel, and 'that M. de Levis is a-breaſt of us on the ſouth coaſt, with the 'flower of the army, watching our motions, as we advance.'

18th. The fleet weighed at ſeven o'clock this morning, and worked higher up; but, the wind coming right a-head, we came to anchor again in nine fathom.

ORDERS.

19th. "The right honourable Lord Rollo is appointed to act as Bri-"gadier, and the honourable Lieutenant Rollo, as Major of Brigade: "Colonel Fletcher is appointed to the firſt battalion of grenadiers, "and to command the grenadiers of the army: Lieutenant-Co-

"lonel

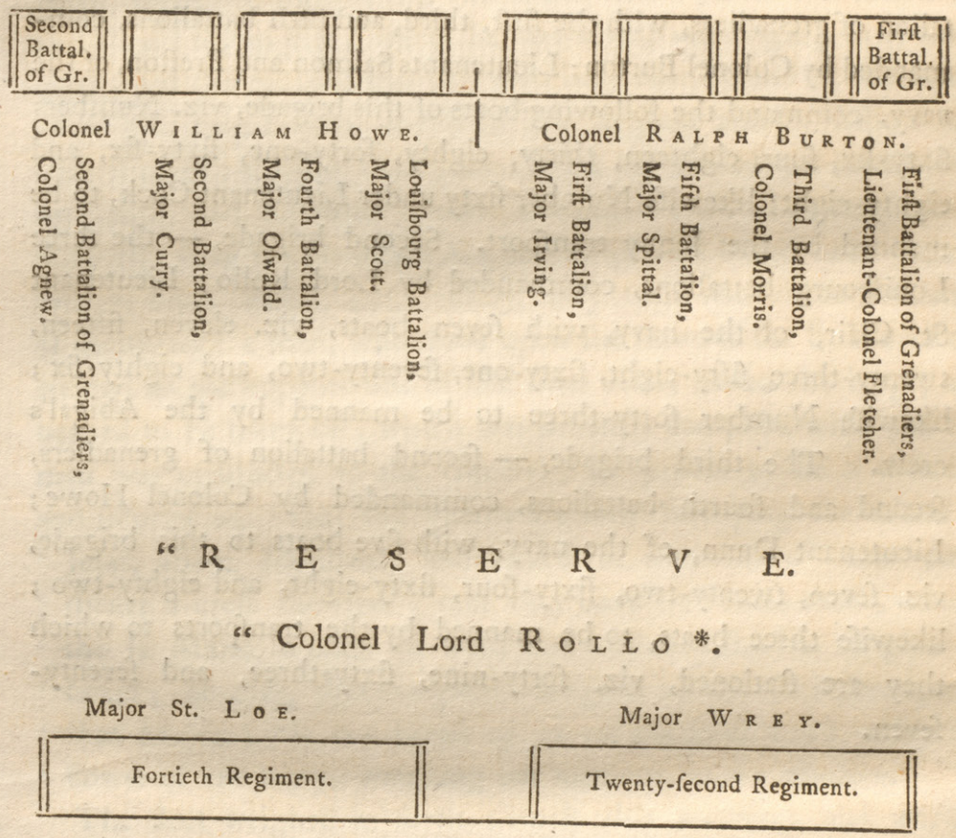
" lonel Agnew is to command the ſecond battalion of grenadiers. 1760. Auguſt.
" Major Scott is appointed to command a battalion to be formed
" from the Louiſbourg regiments, conſiſting of their grenadier com-
" panies, and a detachment to complete them to three hundred men.
" The army is brigaded as follows: the firſt brigade — the firſt bat-
" talion of grenadiers, with the firſt, third, and fifth battalions, com-
" manded by Colonel Burton; Lieutenants Salmon and Preſton, of the
" navy, command the following boats of this brigade, viz. Numbers
" ſixty-ſix, four, eighteen, thirty, eighty, forty-one, ſixty-ſix, and
" eighty-eight; likewiſe Number ſixty under Lieutenant Cock, to be
" manned by the Jenny tranſport. Second brigade, — the three
" Louiſbourg battalions, commanded by Lord Rollo; Lieutenant
" St. Clair, of the navy, with ſeven boats, viz. eleven, fifteen,
" twenty-three, fifty-eight, ſixty-one, ſeventy-two, and eighty-ſix;
" likewiſe Number forty-three to be manned by the Abigal's
" crew. The third brigade, — ſecond battalion of grenadiers,
" ſecond and fourth battalions, commanded by Colonel Howe;
" Lieutenant Dunn, of the navy, with five boats to this brigade,
" viz. ſeven, twenty-two, ſixty-four, ſixty-eight, and eighty-two;
" likewiſe three boats, to be manned by the tranſports to which
" they are ſtationed, viz. forty-nine, ſixty-three, and ſeventy-
" ſeven.

" ORDER

1760. August.

" ORDER of BATTLE, with a RESERVE.

" General MURRAY, Commander in Chief.



" R E S E R V E.

" Colonel Lord ROLLO *.

" Should the army form in one line, Lord Rollo's brigade will be " on the left; ſhould the light infantry act as one corps, they " will be commanded by Captain M'Kay."

* As a tribute due to the memory of this very worthy Nobleman, he was an excellent Officer, and an amiable character in private life; his Lordſhip's late ſon, the honourable Captain Rollo, had he lived long, would have made a ſhining figure, as he inherited all his father's virtues.

The

The garriſon at Quebec being augmented by the recovery of our ſick and wounded, the General has tranſmitted orders to Colonel Fraſer to form a detachment from the troops under his command, and proceed to reduce the fortreſs of Jacques Cartier. The True Briton, a large tranſport, pierced for twenty-ſix guns, is converted into an armed cruiſer, mounts twenty nine-pounders, and is now become the Commodore's ſhip, on board of which the General will remove from the Porcupine. 1760. Auguſt 20th.

A deſcent being meditated againſt Sorrel, the Louiſbourg brigade fell down to the iſland of Ignatius, under pretence of procuring fire-wood; on the 21ſt, in the morning, the floating-batteries were detached, and, late at night, a diviſion of flat-bottomed boats followed them. On the 22d, at one o'clock in the morning, Lord Rollo, and the regiments under his command, with the rangers, got into their boats, and rowed off: about two they landed near a mile below Sorrel, burned many houſes, and laid waſte the greateſt part of the pariſh; this diſagreeable procedure affected the General extremely, but the obſtinate perſeverance of the inhabitants in arms made it neceſſary, as well for their chaſtiſement, as *in terrorem* to others. His Excellency, in his letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, expreſſes himſelf very pathetically on this occaſion:—'I found the inhabitants 'of the pariſh of Sorrel had deſerted their habitations, and were in 'arms; I was therefore under the cruel neceſſity of burning the 'greateſt part of theſe poor unhappy people's houſes; I pray God this 'example may ſuffice, for my nature revolts, when this becomes a 'neceſſary part of my duty.' After this ſervice was performed, his Lordſhip marched up within view of the enemy's works, formed the line of battle, and endeavoured, by ſmall parties, to draw them out of their intrenchments, but they did not think proper to indulge him; ſo that, having called in all his ſcouts, he reimbarked his troops, and returned to their ſhips without any accident. The country, hence to Montreal, appears to be well inhabited, and very populous; the navigation is extremely agreeable to the eye, the 21ſt. and 22d.

1760. August. river being interſperſed with a multiplicity of beautiful iſlands, ſome rude, but the greateſt part of them are cultivated.

23d. On the 23d the fleet weighed, and, after a run of three hours, we came to an anchor off Contrecœur in ten fathom, the enemy politely attending us, as we advanced: this is about nine leagues from the object of our wiſhes; we have various accounts from priſoners and deſerters of the armies under General Amherſt and Brigadier Haviland, but they are too vague and contradictory to deſerve any attention. Some of our ſhips and floats cannonaded the enemy on their march, and ſeveral of the light cavalry, being diſmounted by our ſhot, were compelled to keep at a greater diſtance from the banks of the river.

24th. Early this morning the General received an expreſs, in conſequence of a frigate being arrived at Quebec from England; this pacquet contained diſpatches for the Generals Amherſt, Murray, Lord Colville, and Governor Lawrence: the Officers were acquainted this day, in orders, that there is now an opportunity of writing to Great Britain, by the Vengeance from Quebec, to which place a convoy will ſet out to-morrow morning. Some detachments of the army were ordered to land on a ſmall iſland a-head of the fleet; but, upon a cloſer view, they found it to be a moraſs over-grown with reeds and ruſhes: in rowing back to our ſhips, a body of the enemy on the ſouth coaſt, ſuſpecting we were going to land, drew up in order of battle to give us a warm reception.

25th. and 26th. On the 25th and 26th we weighed anchor at different times, but, not being able to make any way, on account of perverſe calms, with the rapidity of a ſtrong current againſt us, we were as often obliged to come to our moorings; the enemy ſeem now to be confined to ſo narrow a compaſs, that both ſides of the river are lined with troops, to prevent, if poſſible, our diſimbarking.

27th. We worked up to the village of Aſſumption, through a difficult navigation, by reaſon of various windings in the channel: our ſoundings were very irregular, from three to ſix fathom, a rocky bottom.

I am

I am inclined to think, if the artillery and ammunition, which the enemy loſt and expended before Quebec laſt ſpring, had been carefully reſerved for the defence of the upper country, they might have been rendered much more ſerviceable againſt this armament by the narrowneſs of the river in many places; for, if they did not intirely fruſtrate our meaſures, they might annoy our ſhips and forces very ſenſibly, and retard our operations. At ſix this evening the rangers and light infantry landed on the iſland of Tereſa, on the north coaſt. 1760. Auguſt.

The troops are ordered to be completed to thirty-ſix rounds of good cartridges, with three flints per man, and to be in readineſs to land at the ſhorteſt notice. A ſoldier of the ſeventeenth regiment, who ſays he was made priſoner laſt year, and has now made his eſcape, was brought off from an iſland a-head by one of our guard-boats; he relates, that General Amherſt has interrupted the communication between l'Iſle Royale and Montreal, where the bulk of the French army, conſiſting of five thouſand men, compoſed of regulars and choſen Canadians, are now aſſembled; that the Indians have abandoned them, notwithſtanding the greateſt arguments were uſed to prevail on them to continue; and that many of the militia, who had been draughted to complete their French battalions, deſerted in ſuch numbers, that three have been lately hanged for examples to others. Six of our rangers put on ſhore, laſt night, on the ſouth ſide, and brought off two Canadians, equipped with their packs, and in arms, who were on their way to Montreal. A great firing of artillery has been heard, for ſeveral days and nights, by the people of the country. By the various reports of priſoners, deſerters, and thoſe who are now become neutrals, Monſieur de Levis's intire aim ſeems to incline to an action with this army before the arrival of the Commander in Chief, and the corps expected by the Iſle au Noix. The enemy have lately made many efforts to get a priſoner from the main army, in which they ſucceeded; but, being cloſely purſued, they butchered him with their war-hatchets to pre- 28th.

1760. August. vent his being retaken alive. We are told, that all the Britiſh deſerters in the French troops are actually gone off to Louiſiana, and that M. Vaudreuil did once entertain thoughts of abandoning Canada, and flying to that country; but had been prevailed on to alter his ſyſtem, and ſhare the fate of this colony: the deſerters are commanded by one Johnſton, a proſcribed rebel, who is a Lieutenant in the French ſervice. We hear of great diſcontents, as well among the regulars as the Canadians, who, taking the advantage of the times, affect great indifference to good order and diſcipline, inſomuch that the French Officers are obliged to ſubſtitute intreaties in place of authority.

29th. Half of the troops are daily a-ſhore, on an iſland S. S. E. of Tereſa, making faſcines and picquets, by way of exerciſing the men, and keeping them employed. The General, Colonel Burton, and our Commodore, came on board the Duke tranſport to reconnoitre the village of Varenne on the ſouth coaſt; ſome hints were thrown out as if a deſcent was intended, and the General left orders, 'that 'we ſhould take particular notice of that place, and report any 'movements we may diſcover, from time time, with reſpect to 'regular or Canadian troops, droves of cattle, carriages, baggage, '&c. &c.' It was intended that the troops who are a-ſhore, ſhould, in their return to their ſhips, make a feint to land on the lower end of the iſland of Montreal; but, the General having altered his mind, the detachments were ordered on board their reſpective tranſports. An Officer and ſix rangers endeavoured to take a priſoner from Varenne, but the inhabitants, jealous of ſuch a deſign, fired upon them before they made the ſhore, and obliged them to ſheer off.

30th. Several unlucky accidents have happened in this armament by men venturing to fiſh, and divert themſelves in canoes, whereby many ſailors and ſoldiers have been drowned: a Maſter of a trader, paddling yeſterday in one of theſe ſavage vehicles, miſſed his ſtroke, and tumbled overboard; they are ſtill more dangerous in this rapid river,

river, where the current is ſo immenſely ſtrong, that even an expert ſwimmer has no chance for his life. The four eldeſt companies of grenadiers, belonging to the brigades from Quebec, were ordered into the flat-bottomed boats this evening, and rowed over to the iſland of Tereſa; there they will be joined by the light infantry and rangers, who are to effect a deſcent this night, or to-morrow, on the ſouth ſide of the river; three floats will attend them. 1760. Auguſt.

This morning, at day-break, half of the light troops and grenadiers landed above the hamlet of Varenne; the enemy fired ſome ſcattering ſhots at them, and ran off: as ſoon as they got footing, they threw up three rockets for the remainder of theſe corps, lying off to wait the event, who inſtantly puſhed a-ſhore at a ſmall diſtance lower down, and met with the ſame feeble oppoſition as the the others; each party then marched up to the church and center of the pariſh, where they had ſome ſkirmiſhing, the enemy being there aſſembled, to the number of three hundred, ſixty of whom were regulars; but they had no intrenchments: in this deſcent we had not a ſingle man hurt; ſeveral of the enemy were wounded, and we made twenty-four priſoners, three of whom were Frenchmen. The troops immediately took poſt in the church, chapel of eaſe, and houſes adjoining; ſcouts were ſent out, who procured ſome cattle and poultry, which the inhabitants had here in plenty; and, by their obſtinacy, they loſt the beſt of their wearing apparel and other effects; about nine o'clock the grenadiers reimbarked, and were ordered back to their ſhips, while the light infantry and rangers kept poſſeſſion of the church and chapel. We have received intelligence, by a letter found a-ſhore without any date, that Iſle au Noix was abandoned, and that Fort Levis, on l'Iſle Royale, after a few days' ſiege, had ſurrendered to General Amherſt; this letter alſo mentioned, that a ſpy was taken at Sorrel, *et que l'on a lui caſſé ſa tete d'une hache:* however, he was no ſpy, for, by better authority, the affair was as follows: a ſoldier deſerted lately from the forty-third regiment, and another ſoon followed from the Royal Ame- 31ſt.

1760. August. ricans; the enemy, perſuaded that men in their ſenſes would not deſert a plentiful and victorious army, to ſhare their miſerable fate, concluded they muſt be ſpies, and therefore gave one of them up to the Indians, and killed the other with a hatchet, as before-mentioned. M. Colonel de Bougainville commands the troops oppoſed to Brigadier Haviland, and M. Bourlemacque has a corps of obſervation conſiſting of five thouſand men, at a pariſh to the ſouthward of Varenne, where it is pretended he will unite with the Colonel, in caſe of being compelled to retire; andfall upon the Brigadier, as ſoon as he ſhall advance: M. Bourlemacque likewiſe threatens to deſtroy Mr. Murray's forces, if we ſhould attempt a junction with Mr. Haviland; fifteen hundred men are intrenched on the iſland of St. Helen, oppo ſite to Montreal, and the Chevalier de Levis commands on the north ſide of the river; ſuch, we are told, is the preſent diſpoſition of the French army. At one o'clock a body of about fourſcore Canadians came down, divided themſelves into ſmall parties, and attacked the rangers at Varenne; our brave fellows quitted their cover, and advanced upon them; but the Commanding Officer, perceiving they wanted to poſſeſs themſelves of a barn that ſtood detached from the chapel, ſet fire to it: this ſo exaſperated the enemy, that a party of them endeavoured, under cover of the ſmoke and flames, to cut off the chapel, and take poſt there; but herein they were alſo foiled, a few of the rangers having got before, and repulſed them; by this time ſome Officers, and ſix of the light infantry from the church, who are expert markſmen, came down, poſted themſelves advantageouſly on the enemy's flank, and galled them ſo ſenſibly, that they could ſtand no longer. The rangers, covered by a company of light infantry, purſued them in their flight for near a mile, in which they made ſeven wounded Canadians priſoners; beſides theſe, they had three men killed and ſcalped near the chapel, and we had only three who were ſlightly wounded. In the evening the enemy ſhewed themſelves again to the ſouth-eaſt of the church, whereupon the light infantry ſet fire to two houſes and out-offices on that ſide, which, by their elevated

elevated ſituation, commanded their poſt, and might have incommoded our people conſiderably, if the inhabitants, reinforced by the regulars, ſhould attempt to moleſt them in the night. Detachtachments are a-ſhore to-day on the iſland S. S. E. of Tereſa, which I have nominated *l'Iſle de Raiſins*, from its ſpontaneous production of great quantities of grapes, employed in making faſcines, &c. this work is to be continued till farther orders. A Britiſh female captive at Varenne, who has been ſeveral years in this country, aſſures us there are few, if any, troops in the city of Montreal; that M. Vaudreuil will capitulate for the colony, as ſoon as General Amherſt arrives; and that the forces under M. de Levis affect being greatly diſappointed at not having an opportunity of fighting the army from Quebec, which they hoped to have had at Les Trois Rivieres, upon a ſuppoſition we would have made a deſcent here. 1760. Auguſt.

The whole pariſh of Varenne have ſurrendered, delivered up their arms, and taken the oaths; their fighting-men conſiſted of five companies of militia: two other pariſhes, equally numerous, have ſignified their intentions of ſubmitting to-morrow. The Quarter-Maſters and Camp-Colour-men are ordered to Varenne to mark out an incampment; it is propoſed to intrench our troops there, until we hear from the Commander in Chief; for this purpoſe the long boats of the fleet are detached to l'Iſle de Raiſins for faſcines, &c. Sept. 1ſt.

The light infantry and rangers were alarmed laſt night, embarked in their boats, and lay off till this morning, when they returned to their poſt at the church: this was occaſioned by information received from the inhabitants, that M. Bourlemaque was in motion; and to-day we are aſſured the cauſe of his movements proceeded from his retiring before Brigadier Haviland's corps, who are well advanced. The Canadians are ſurrendering every-where; they are terrified at the thoughts of Sir William Johnſon's Indians coming among them, by which we conjecture they are near at hand. 2d.

The

1760. [Sept. The troops landed to make faſcines, and, before they had finiſhed the taſks aſſigned them, they received orders to reimbark immediately, the whole being to land at Varenne, with four days' proviſions, ammunition, &c. in a little time after this was countermanded, and the troops returned to their tranſports, except the detachment from the forty-third regiment, who continued on l'Iſle de Raiſins, to guard and load the boats with faſcines; ſome cannon and carriages were put into batteaus, and were half the way to Varenne, when they received orders, by a pinnace, to return, and land at the iſland of Tereſa, where part of the army diſembarked, and incamped at noon.

3d. Late laſt night an Officer of the Royal Americans, in diſguiſe, with four rangers, arrived from Brigadier Haviland's corps, who they ſay will actually be at la Prairie in two or three days' at fartheſt. Several French grenadiers deſerted to us early this morning; they inform us, that M. Bourlemacque is advantageouſly poſted, with twelve hundred men, and four pieces of cannon, to oppoſe the Brigadier: that his command did amount to ſeventeen hundred men, but five hundred of them have abandoned him, and it is not improbable the reſt may follow their example. The regulars now deſert to us in great numbers, and the Canadian militia are ſurrendering by hundreds. The detachments at Varenne lay off laſt night in their boats, as on the preceding night; and returned to the church this morning: General Murray has diſperſed manifeſtoes from thence to all the neighbouring pariſhes, acquainting the inhabitants, 'that, if they will ſurrender and 'deliver up their arms, he will forgive them; if not, they know 'what they may expect, from the examples which he has hitherto 'reluctantly given them; and, as for ſuch Canadians as have been 'incorporated in the battalions of regulars, if they will ſurrender 'by a day limited, his Excellency will not only reinſtate them 'in their ſettlements and lands, but likewiſe enlarge and protect them; 'but, if, after all, they ſhall ſtill perſiſt, they muſt expect to ſhare 'the fate of the French troops, and be tranſported with them to 'Europe,

'Europe, &c.'—This had a happy effect on theſe brave unfortunate people; for this evening four hundred of them, belonging to the pariſh of Boucherville, came to Varenne, and delivered up their arms: after taking the cuſtomary oaths, they requeſted the General would give them ſafe-guards for their pariſh, which was granted, and a Serjeant's party were immediately ſent off with them, to protect them from our ſavages, who, they ſay, are within a day's march of them. The remainder of our army, who did not in camp yeſterday, continued on board their ſhips to-day, on account of the badneſs of the weather; the grenadiers, and a detachment of the forty-third regiment, returned to their tranſports this afternoon, and bade adieu to l'Iſle de Raiſins; M. Bourlemacque is retired to the iſland of St. Helen, being totally abandoned by the Canadians. 1760. Sept.

ORDERS.

"The General has the pleaſure to inform the army that l'Iſle "au Noix, St. John's and Tereſa, have ſubmitted to his Ma- "jeſty's arms: the conqueſt of Canada is now moſt certain, "and there is nothing can retard it but want of diſcipline, or "a thirſt for plundering among the troops and ſeamen: it is "therefore expected that every Officer will exert himſelf to in- "force a due obedience of orders, and to prevent marauding, or "any other abuſe being offered to the Canadians, who have ſub- "mitted to his Majeſty; if this is done, there will not be an inhabi- "tant of the country with the French army a week longer: and "the regular troops, every body knows, are reduced to a deſpicable "handful."

One Field-Officer, four Captains, twelve Subalterns, and four hundred rank and file, beſides Serjeants and Drummers, are ordered to mount as a reſerve every evening, while on this iſland.

The

1760. Sept. 4th. The remainder of the troops diſembarked, and incamped on the north ſide of the fertile, pleaſant, and well-cultivated iſland of St. Tereſa. Crowds of Canadians are ſurrendering to us every minute, and the regulars, worn out with hunger and deſpair, deſert to us in great numbers. The parole of the day is *Amherſt*.

5th. This morning the General and Colonel Burton, with the grenadiers, light infantry, and rangers of this army, croſſed the river, and marched to Longville, or Longueüil, to reinforce Brigadier Haviland, and protect the country from our Indian allies, as they advance; at the ſame time a Captain, three Subalterns, and one hundred men, paſſed over to take poſt in the church of Varenne. M. de Levis, with the remainder of his principal Officers and regulars, have retired to the capital. Lord Rollo commands at preſent on the iſland of Tereſa. I was aſſured by ſome deſerters to-day, that the Commander in Chief's army were arrived at Perrot iſland, within leſs than four leagues of the city of Montreal; in this caſe his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is in a fair way of being ſpeedily *checkmated* in Canada.

6th. Brigadier Haviland has reduced fort Chambli, where he found ſome of our braſs field-pieces; the van of his corps arrived yeſterday at Longueüil, and they report that Sir William Johnſon, with a large body of Indians, computed at fourteen hundred, will be there this day from General Amherſt's army. Eight Sachems, of different nations, lately in alliance with the enemy, have ſurrendered, for themſelves and their tribes, to General Murray: theſe fellows, after conferring with his Excellency, and that all matters had been adjuſted to their ſatisfaction, ſtepped out to the beach oppoſite to Montreal, flouriſhed their knives and hatchets, and ſet up the war-ſhout; intimating to the French, that they are now become our allies and their enemies. While theſe Chieftans were negociating a peace, two of our Mohawks entered the apartment where they were with the General and Colonel Burton: after viewing the others with great earneſtneſs, they made a ſet at that

ſide of the room, in order to ſeize upon them; but the General and Colonel interpoſed, and exacted a promiſe from the Mohawks that they would not moleſt the others, who had been put out for a few minutes, and were again called in: upon their re-entering, they looked eagerly at each other, uttering *heh! heh! heh!* with great vehemence; after which one of the Mohawks expreſſed himſelf, in disjointed ſentences, to the following effect: 'It is well 'for you that you have ſurrendered, — and that theſe Generals 'are here; — it is they that protect you, — or we two Mohawks 'would ſcalp every man of you.' Hereupon one of the French warriors took a ſmall ſtick with his knife, and notched it: the other then re-aſſumed, — 'Do you remember, when you treacherouſly 'killed one of our brothers at ſuch a time? — Ye ſhall one day 'pay dearly for it, ye cowardly dogs, — let the treaty be as it 'will: — I tell you, we will deſtroy you and your ſettlement, — 'root and branch; — ye are all cowards; — our ſquaws are better 'than you, — they will ſtand and fight like men, — but ye ſculk 'like dogs, &c. &c.' Between every pauſe the French chief uttered *heh! heh!* and repeated his notches on the ſtick, till at length, being reproached with cowardice, and equalled to the ſquaws, he could no longer contain himſelf, but ſet up a horrid yell, and, with a tenfold emotion, cut a long ſliver off the ſtick, which ſeemed to be a ſignal for his companions to fall on; but the General and Colonel exerted themſelves in keeping the peace, put the Mohawks out of the room, and laid both parties under the ſtrongeſt injunctions not to moleſt each other, on pain of being moſt ſeverely chaſtiſed by the Commander in Chief. 1760. Sept.

General Murray and Colonel Burton, with the grenadiers, light troops, and detachment, returned from the ſouth coaſt early this morning: the latter were relieved by a body of rangers under Major Rogers. Soon after the following orders were iſſued out to the army on the iſland of Tereſa. — Parole *King George*; counterſign *Hanover*. 7th.

1760. Sept.

ORDERS.

"The army will get to croſs the river as ſoon as poſſible; the "tents to be ſtruck, and the baggage to be carefully packed up, "and left in care of a guard, which will conſiſt of one Serjeant "and ſix men from each corps, and a Subaltern from each brigade. "The firſt landing will conſiſt of grenadiers, light infantry, with "the firſt brigade, and as many of the third as the boats will con- "tain; the boats will immediately return for the remainder of the "troops. Should the enemy oppoſe the debarkation, the troops "will quickly form under the bank, and inſtantly march up, charge "them with their bayonets, and give them one diſcharge; the "light infantry and rangers will endeavour to gain the neareſt "the enemy's flanks, and purſue them ſpiritedly, when they fly; "in which they muſt be ſupported by the grenadiers with vigour "and vivacity. The boats of the light infantry will be upon the "left flank; thoſe of the grenadiers between them and the bat- "talions; and the rangers upon the right. When the enemy has "been routed, or ſhould we land without oppoſition, the Brigadiers "will form the line, with a reſerve agreeable to their former "orders. The army will march from the left in two columns; "Brigadier Burton will lead the right column, and Brigadier "Howe the left: Lord Rollo of courſe, in his place, will be "at the head of that part of his brigade, which will be of the "right column. The van-guard of the army will conſiſt of "three companies of light infantry, ſupported by three companies of "grenadiers, two from the firſt, and one from the third brigade, "commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Agnew; the fourth company "of light infantry will cover the right flank of the right column *. "The rear-guard will conſiſt of the rangers and Major Scott's "battalion. Should the enemy attempt the flanks of the right

* Our left flank was covered by the river, as we marched.

column,

" column, Brigadier Howe will form the line, with their front 1760. Sept.
" to the woods, if a conſiderable body of the enemy ſhould be
" in front; but, if there ſhould not, he will form his brigade only
" to the front, in order to oppoſe them: in either of theſe caſes
" the General will diſpoſe of the reſerve; and the light infantry
" will do their utmoſt to cover the forming of the army, by
" ſkirmiſhing to check the enemy: but, when the army is formed,
" they will give *overflanks*, viz. the Louiſbourg companies on that
" of the right, and thoſe of Quebec on that of the left. The
" Pioneers, with the Quarter-Maſters, will march with the van-
" guard, and muſt be completed with tools from the train. The
" regulars and light troops of General Amherſt's army wear green
" boughs, to diſtinguiſh them from the different corps of the enemy;
" our army will do the ſame; and the ſoldiers will be very careful
" they do not fire upon our friends, as the Commander in Chief's
" army are actually landed on the iſland of Montreal. The two
" field-pieces will march at the head of Brigadier Howe's brigade;
" and, upon the aſſembly-beating, the army will get under arms."

Several powerful nations of Indians, among whom the Cherokees are ſaid to be the moſt reſpectable for their numbers, on the frontiers of South Carolina, having committed great ravages on our back ſettlements, and, by repeated barbarities, ſpread terror throughout the neighbouring provinces: His Excellency General Amherſt detached Colonel Montgomery, in the beginning of this campaign, with a ſelect corps, compoſed of four companies of the Royal, under Major Hamilton; four of the ſeventy-ſeventh, commanded by Major Grant; two companies of grenadiers, by Captain Wall, and two of light infantry, by Captain Williams; amounting, with their Officers, to about one thouſand men; in order to chaſtiſe their inſolence and perfidy. This day we had the pleaſure to receive the agreeable intelligence of the Colonel's ſucceſs; he marched into the heart of their country, burned the capital of the lower Cherokees, conſiſting of upwards of two hundred houſes; deſtroyed

1760. Sept. a number of hamlets and well-cultivated ſettlements; this ſervice being performed, the Colonel directed his march to another quarter, in order to ſubdue them ſtill more ſenſibly, when, paſſing through a *defilé* in a woody and intricate part of the country, he was furiouſly attacked on both flanks by a large body of Indians, whereby an obſtinate action enſued; our troops, having withſtood this ſhock with great firmneſs, gallantly charged them in their own way, and routed them, with the loſs of forty killed on the ſpot, beſides a great number of wounded, whom, according to their cuſtom, they carried off with them. The forces then continued their march to a neighbouring town belonging to theſe people, which they laid in aſhes, the enemy having, in vain, attempted to relieve it; in theſe different encounters twenty were killed on our ſide, and near an hundred wounded: which laſt circumſtance, the Colonel having no place of ſecurity for them, induced him to retire to Fort Prince George, in Carolina; — theſe are the moſt intereſting particulars of this well-conducted enterpriſe. This morning, at eight o'clock, our army were ordered to acccoutre, and prepare to march: at ten our camp was ſtruck, tents and baggage packed up, boughs mounted in our hats, and all were in readineſs; between one and two we embarked, and ſoon after landed, without oppoſition, at the lower end of the pariſh of Point au Tremble, on the iſland of Montreal. The place were we diſembarked is about three leagues and an half from the city. The country-people brought horſes to draw our artillery, and others ſaddled, for the Officers to ride, beſides carts for our baggage. We marched through a delightful country, and a pleaſant village, bearing the name of the pariſh, where there is a convent of Nuns, whoſe inhabitants, with their Curate, or Rector as among us, came to to the door and ſaluted us as we paſſed, and told us we were welcome; at the ſame time the roads were lined with men and women, who brought pitchers and pails of milk and water for the refreſhment of the ſoldiers, with many courteous expreſſions of concern,

concern, that they had not better liquor for the Officers. We met with frequent interruptions in our march, the enemy having deſtroyed all the bridges before us, which retarded our motions, inſomuch that, by nine o'clock, we got no farther than the pariſh of Longue Pointe, where, the night being dark, we received orders to take up our quarters in the houſes and barns along the road, which are numerous, reſembling a long ſtraggling village; before we were thus cantoned, a few Mohawk Indians, from the ſouth ſide of the river, paſſed us on the march, who were going expreſs to General Amherſt, with the news of Brigadier Haviland, and the forces under his command, being actually arrived, within a day's march of the meadows and pariſh of Longueüil, oppoſite to Montreal. 1760. Sept.

At day-break, this morning, our advanced-guard, with the Quarter-Maſters and Pioneers, moved forward to repair the roads and bridges; about nine the army marched, but it was noon before we reached our ground on the north-eaſt ſide of the city, where we immediately incamped, with the high Cape or Mount, whence this iſland derives its name, in the rear of the right of our line; and General Murray took up his quarters in the ſuburbs. 8th.

Before I reſume the operations of the forces under the Commander in Chief, with the concerting and effecting this glorious junction of the three armies, and the completion of the conqueſt of Canada, I cannot paſs over in ſilence an event that has happened in the vicinity and government of Quebec; which, though inconſiderable, redounds to the honour of his Majeſty's arms in this country.

On this day Colonel Fraſer, purſuant to orders tranſmitted for that purpoſe by General Murray, with the Majors Prevoſt and M'Pherſon, a detachment of eleven Captains, twenty-eight Subalterns, forty Serjeants, nineteen Drummers, and about nine hundred rank and file, with a ſuitable train of artillery, embarked and ſailed from Quebec, to reduce the fortreſs of Jacques Cartier; it was late on the evening of the 9th, when they landed above the fort without oppoſition, and inſtantly poſſeſſed themſelves of an advantageous piece of ground,

which,

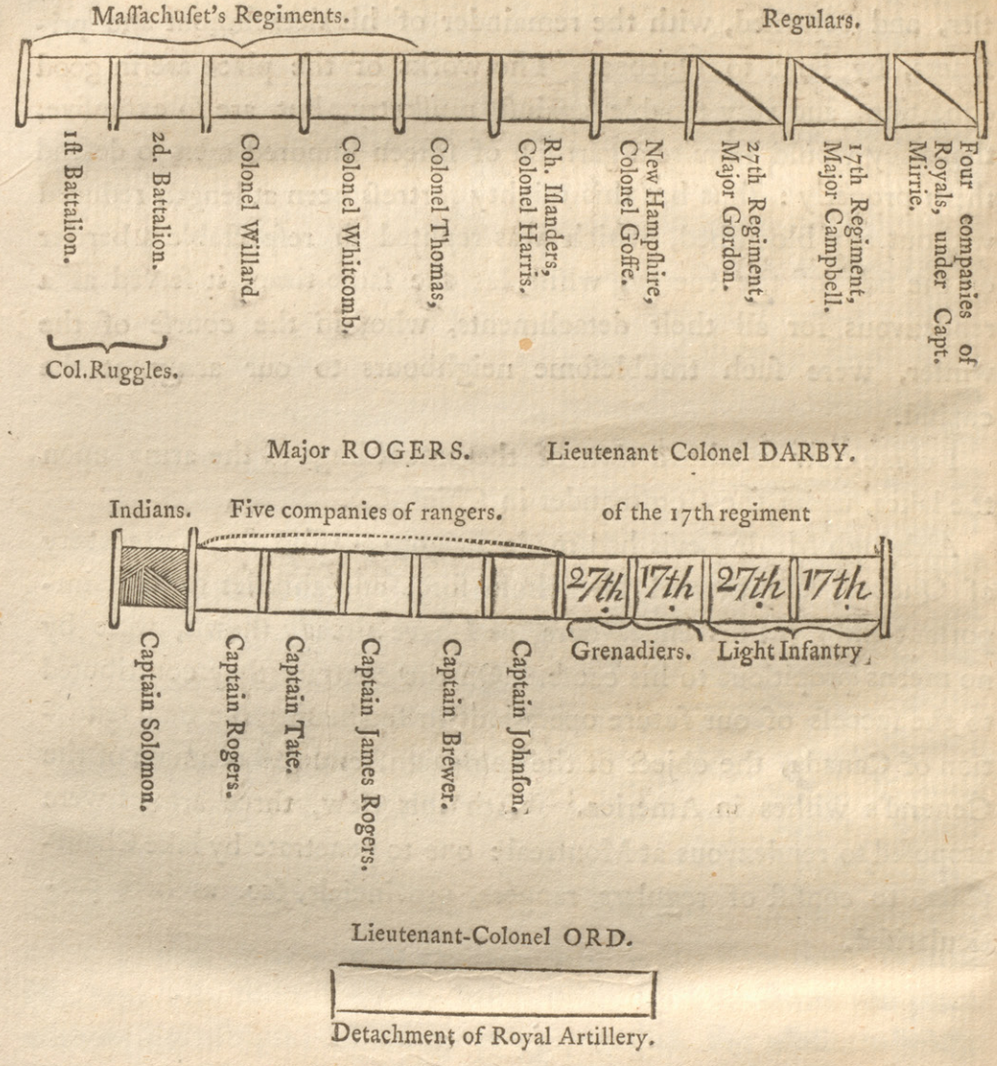
1760. Sept. which, by its unevenneſs, ſaved the Colonel the trouble of erecting any cover, either for his guns or his men. As it was cuſtomary for ſhips to paſs up and down, ſince the departure of the forces under the General, the enemy were not alarmed at the movement of this little armament, neither did they ſuſpect any deſign againſt their poſt, from a belief that the garriſon at Quebec were too weak to undertake ſuch an enterpriſe, or that it did not deſerve our attention, and well knowing that all would depend on the fate of Montreal and the upper country; this being the caſe, an attack upon Jacques Cartier was not expected, particularly as the General, in coaſting upwards, had not diſcovered any deſign to moleſt the enemy there, or at the Three Rivers. Colonel Fraſer having ſecured all the avenues leading from the fort to the country, the detachment lay on their arms until the morning of the 10th, when, a ſmall party being advanced to reconnoitre the works of the place, and the ſhips having by this time fallen lower down, the garriſon was alarmed, and the drums beat to arms. M. le Marquis d'Albergotti, the Commanding Officer, was then ſummoned in form to ſurrender; — but he refuſed, with great parade, farcically returning the uſual anſwer — *that he would defend that poſt to the laſt extremity*; which was ſeconded by a diſcharge of a few guns. The Colonel then ordered up two field-pieces and as many howitzers, under cover of a riſing ground, to play upon the fort, and, at the ſame time, formed his corps into three diviſions, being determined to ſtorm the place without loſs of time; all things being prepared, the aſſailants boldly advanced to the attack, which the Marquis perceiving, inſtantly beat a *chamade*, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The garriſon conſiſted of two Lieutenants and fifty of the regulars, with one hundred and fifty militia, two Gunners, a few indifferent guns, with a very trifling proportion of ammunition, but no proviſions, except a few calves, pigs, and poultry. After the garriſon were diſarmed, and the uſual oath tendered to the Canadians, they were permitted to diſperſe, and return to their reſpective habitations. The Colonel

then left a Captain, two Subalterns, and fifty men, at Jacques Cartier, and returned, with the remainder of his detachment and priſoners, by land to Quebec. The works of the place are in good condition, and very tenable againſt muſketry, but are ſo extenſive, that they would require a garriſon of fifteen hundred men to defend them properly: thus has this mighty fortreſs been at length reduced without any bloodſhed, which was reputed ſo reſpectable a barrier on the ſide of the enemy, while, at the ſame time, it ſerved as a rendezvous for all their detachments, who, in the courſe of the winter, were ſuch troubleſome neighbours to our army at the capital. 1760. Sept.

I come now to take a view of the proceedings of the army upon the lakes, under the Commander in Chief, &c.

Although M. de Levis had made a vigorous effort for the recovery of Quebec, and exerted his whole force and abilities to that important end; yet his endeavours, as I have already ſhewn, were by no means propitious to his cauſe. On the contrary they contributed to the ſucceſs of our future operations in facilitating the final reduction of Canada, the object of the campaign, and the ultimate of the General's wiſhes in America. With this view, three armies were propoſed to rendezvous at Montreal: one to penetrate by lake Champlain, to conſiſt of regulars, rangers, provincials, &c. as here particulariſed.

1760. Sept.



Commanded by Brigadier-General Haviland ; a ſecond corps under Governor Murray, with a ſuitable fleet, to work up from Quebec, compoſed of the flower of the remainder of his garriſon, reinforced by two intire battalions from Louiſbourg, amounting to between three and four thouſand men ; while the Commander in Chief, reſerving the moſt difficult department for himſelf, propoſed to enter the colony by the lake Ontario, which, with that of St. Francis, communicates

communicates with the river St. Lawrence, a few leagues above the iſland of Montreal. The troops that compoſe his Excellency's army conſiſt of 1760. (Sept. 8th.) June.

The firſt battalion of the forty-ſecond regiment,
Second battalion of ditto,
Forty-fourth regiment,
Forty-ſixth ditto,
Fifty-fifth ditto,
Fourth battalion of Royal Americans,
Seventy-ſeventh regiment,
Gage's light infantry,
Captain Ogden's, Captain Waite's, companies of rangers.
Colonel Scuyler's — New Jerſey's.
Colonel le Roux's, Colonel Woodhull's, Colonel Corſa's, New-Yorkers.
Colonel Lyman's, Colonel Worſter's, Colonel Fitche's, Colonel Whiting's, Connecticut's.
A detachment of royal artillery, under Colonel Williamſon; and a corps of Indians, under Sir William Johnſon.

How this arduous undertaking has been effected by the Brigadiers Murray and Haviland, the reader has already, in ſome meaſure, ſeen: it remains, however, to be noticed, that the latter ſailed from Crown-Point on the 11th of Auguſt, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Foſter, of the Royal, with a ſufficient force to garriſon and defend that poſt with its dependencies; that the enemy made no preparations to oppoſe this armament, except at the Iſle au Noix, where, after giving

1760. (Sept. 8th) June. the Brigadier the trouble to break ground and erect batteries, they abandoned the iſland, and afterwards every other poſt in like manner, according as he advanced, until he reached Longueüil. The greateſt embarraſſments now lay in the route of the main army, whence the enemy formed the higheſt expectations of being able to protract the intire reduction of the colony for ſome time longer, flattering themſelves that the news of a peace might arrive, whereby the colony would be reſtored to the ſtate in which we found it laſt year, and all the Britiſh troops be withdrawn. This, however, was mere deluſion: — a ſteady reſolution and perſeverance, on the part of the Commander in Chief, ſurmounted every difficulty, and, by the moſt approved diſcipline and zeal of the troops, his Excellency had the happineſs to reap the fruit of his labours, to the accompliſhment of which, every preparation was made. The regiments were completed, both Europeans and Provincials, as faſt as they arrived at Albany, the place of their firſt rendezvous, and incamped: there they were inſtructed in the regular and irregular, if I may ſo expreſs it, method of fighting, and exerciſed in firing ball; in fine, they were trained up in every particular that prudence, with experience, could dictate, to render the troops expert in an open or covered country; thus were the General and army employed, until the ſeaſon approached for opening the campaign. It has already appeared, that there was little or no preparation made to oppoſe Brigadier Haviland, until he was well advanced; and then, if we may believe the country-people, they would have ſtruck a blow, had they not been over-awed by the critical arrival of the forces from Quebec, with their frequent deſcents on the north and ſouth coaſts, which infuſed ſuch terror in the Canadians, that, to prevent military execution on their pariſhes, they diſperſed: and this conduct had ſo great an effect upon the French regulars, who deſerted their cauſe in ſuch numbers, that thoſe who remained were incapacitated from making any attempt on the Brigadier's corps; moreover, having experienced that Governor Murray

Murray acted cautiously, and did not appear disposed to undertake any thing of consequence, they turned their principal attention towards the Commander in Chief's army; reinforced such of their remaining frontier-posts, in his route, as time and circumstances permitted; detached scouting parties to watch his Excellency's motions, or harrass his troops in case of landing; and their armed vessels were in motion, on Lake Ontario, early in the month of June. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) June.

Thus far I think proper to premise, by way of introduction to General Amherst's operations.

All things being in readiness, the forces embarked for Oswego, and, the greatest part of them being well advanced up the Mohawk river, his Excellency took his departure from Shenectady, and proceeded, by the same route, through Lake Oneida, which communicates with the said river Mohawk, and that of Onondaga, thence into the Ontario. 21st.

Two French vessels having this day appeared off Oswego, some batteaus, with a detachment, are sent express to Captain Loring, who is equipping our own armed vessels at Niagara, to acquaint him with that event. July 6th.

The General, with part of the troops, arrived this day at Oswego; before his Excellency left Albany, Brigadier Haviland's corps had passed up Hudson's river, on their way northward; the women were not allowed to proceed with the army *. 9th.

* The allowance of conveyances for baggage is one waggon per company of a regiment whose establishment is seven hundred men, or seventy per company; and three waggons to two companies of the regiments of a thousand men; besides one waggon to the Commanding Officer, and one to the Staff of each corps. The Sutlers of the former have two ox-carts; of the latter, three each: and, for water-carriage, they have batteaus in proportion to this allowance.

N. B. The General's humanity always extended to the poor women, who had subsistence granted them, when not permitted to follow their husbands.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) July. 12th. The French armed veſſels appeared off the harbour, and, as our two ſnows, the Onondaga * and Mohawk*, were hourly expected, ſome batteaus were detached that way, hoping the enemy's veſſels would endeavour to intercept them; but they diſregarded them, and bore away for the bay of Cataraqui. The troops are daily dropping in; as they arrive, they are employed in clearing ground for an incampment, and erecting ſheds or booths for hoſpitals.

14th. A fort is marked out to be conſtructed here, in which we are well ſeconded by the provincial troops, who furniſh us with artificers of all profeſſions; gallies are likewiſe building to proceed with the army; they are to mount cannon, and to be worked with oars. Our two ſnows made their appearance this evening; they were equipped with every thing that could be wanted without loſs of time, and ordered to proceed to the river St. Lawrence, to intercept and fight the two veſſels of the enemy.

20th. Several men, both of the regulars and provincials, who had inliſted to ſerve for a limited time, having applied for diſcharges, were refuſed: the General having iſſued orders, that, as the ſervice required it, no man ſhould be diſcharged until the end of the campaign; but, in conſequence of their being thus compelled to continue, a ſuitable gratification is directed to be paid to them reſpectively, which has prevented any diſcontents, many of them having deſired to be re-inliſted. The French veſſels appeared again to-day off Oſwego; our ſnows went in purſuit of them, and, notwithſtanding every precaution was taken to intercept them, they eſcaped. All our advanced poſts are ordered to intrench, to prevent a ſurpriſe; quarter and rear-guards are faced outwards, with the ſame directions to ſtrengthen their ground.

* The former carried eighteen guns, four were nine-pounders, and the reſt ſixes, with one hundred men; the other carried ſixteen ſix-pounders, and had ninety men.

1760. (Sept. July.

ORDERS.

The orders of the 16th expreſs the General's deſire, "That the "regiments will have their ground for incampment ſo clear by that "night, that they will be able to furniſh moſt of their men for "completing the works of the fort, which are ſo eſſential for the "future protection of this country, that no time muſt be loſt in "effecting it before the troops are all aſſembled here, at which time "the whole will proceed over the lake for the reduction of Canada."

The army continues healthy, being ſupplied with freſh and ſalt 23d. proviſions almoſt alternately; a market is eſtabliſhed in the center of the line; ſpruce-beer is brewed, and iſſued to the men at three coppers, or Engliſh halfpence, per gallon; and freſh bread is baked for them according to the following regulation:

ORDERS.

"No Baker, in this army, will be allowed to take more than one "penny ſterling for baking ſeven pounds of flour, which makes a "loaf nine pounds weight; if the provincials pay the Bakers in "kind, they are not to take ſeven pounds of bread for ſeven pounds "of flour, which is a ſhameful deduction from the portion allowed "to the ſoldier, and too exorbitant a profit to the Baker; any of the "corps are at liberty to get it baked cheaper, if they can."

The troops from Shenectady and Albany are daily joining us, and Sir William Johnſon, with a great part of the Indians, are this day arrived.

The works at the fort are carrying on with great diligence; 25th. above four hundred labouring men, with Officers in proportion, are daily employed there, beſides artificers of every occupation; and a number

1760. (Sept. 8th.) July. number of Ship-carpenters, &c. are engaged in the navy-yard on the row-gallies, and repairing other veſſels; there are to be ſix of theſe floats, ſome of which are nearly completed. Batteaus, with large detachments, proceed frequently to the great falls for artillery-ſtores and proviſions. The Indians having been very riotous lately in their camp, the General was much diſobliged thereat, and has given orders to Sir William Johnſon to prevent ſuch irregularities for the future; and, that the ſoldiers may not be concerned in their diſturbances, they are injoined not to ſtir out of their own camp, after retreat-beating, on pain of being ſeverely puniſhed.

ORDERS.

" In conſequence of a general court-martial at London, ordered by " his Majeſty, for the trial of L—— G—— S——, for having diſ- " obeyed the orders of Pr—— F—— of Br——, at the battle of " M—d—n, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1759, the following ſentence, " purſuant to his Majeſty's commands, *is this day publiſhed to the " army:* — That the Officers being convinced neither high birth " nor great employments can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature, and " that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſures much worſe than death " to a man who has any ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal " conſequences ariſing from the diſobedience of orders." The ſentence runs thus:

' —— This court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter ' before them, is of opinion, that L—— G—— S—— is guilty ' of having diſobeyed the orders of Pr—— F—— of Br——, ' whom he was, by his commiſſion and inſtructions, directed ' to obey, as Commander in Chief, according to the rules of ' war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the ſaid ' L—— G—— S—— is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve

'his Majeſty in any military capacity whatever." — Which ſentence his Majeſty has been pleaſed to confirm *. 1760. (Sept. 8th.)

The working party at the fort is now commanded by a Field-Officer, and augmented to ſix hundred; moreover, in order to expedite this buſineſs, and as the weather is cooler at preſent than it has been for ſome time paſt, the troops are ordered to continue, from morning until night, working by three reliefs. The forty-fourth regiment, with a detachment of Gage's light infantry, and New-Yorkers, who had been detached to Preſqu' Iſle †, rejoined the army. July 31ſt.

ORDERS.

"A charitable ſociety formed in England, under the denomination "of the ſociety of the Britiſh troops abroad, and for the orphans "of ſoldiers ſlain in battle, having been pleaſed to tranſmit to "the General a ſum of two thouſand one hundred and one Spaniſh "dollars, to be by him diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner as he ſhall "think proper, the Commanding Officers of regiments will make "a report of any widows or orphans of ſoldiers ſlain in battle "in America, or of any other object deſerving of this charitable "and humane donation, that the General may diſtribute amongſt "ſuch the aforeſaid ſum, agreeable to the intention of the "donors. Auguſt. 1ſt.

* By way of friendly hint to ſome young, unthinking, and inexperienced brethren, who are very frequently given to cavilling, and diſplaying what they would have paſs for wit, when an order is iſſued out, laying them under ſome reſtraints, which perhaps they themſelves have incurred; I ſhall take the liberty to ſubjoin the following ſentiments: — 'He who intrenches himſelf within the ſtrict punctilio's 'of diſcipline, who ſcans ſyllables, weighs words, and debates phraſes, may protect 'his perſon from puniſhment, but will never ſhelter his character from ſcorn."

† This fort is on Lake Erie, on the oppoſite ſide to Long Point, and about one hundred miles from the eaſt end of the lake, which communicates with that of Ontario at Niagara.

The

1760. (Sept. 8th.) The regiments are out alternately, exerciſing and firing ball; for this purpoſe, ſtuffed gabions are fixed up for them, that the ſhot may be recovered, when ordered to be ſought for.

This day we received the agreeable intelligence of Colonel Montgomery's ſucceſs over the Cherokee Indians, having defeated them in an engagement, burned ſeveral towns, and laid waſte the greateſt part of their country. — Divine Service is regularly performed every Sunday to the army; the regulars, provincials, rangers, and Indians alternately, to ſome in the morning, to others in the afternoon; the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie officiates to the Indians.

Auguſt 5th. At a muſter, taken this day, of the corps of ſavages under Sir William Johnſon, they amount to thirteen hundred and thirty, compoſed of the following different nations, moſt of whom were lately in alliance with the French, and by them called Iroquois:

Seneſagos,	329
Cayugas,	284
Tuſcarores,	37
Cunaſarages,	20
Mohawks,	51
Mohians,	12
Oquagos,	18
Oſwegatcheis,	15
The Belt Party,	12
Senecas,	114
Onondagoes,	203
Oneidas,	60
Canajorakies,	85
Schonaries,	22
Chennogoas,	31
Mawas,	3
Caunadroghas,	34
Total	1330

warriors,

warriors, who for the moſt part inhabit the country on the banks of lake Erie. There is, however, little dependance to be had in thoſe people; and to govern them requires no ſmall fund of addreſs, being of a diſſatisfied, unſettled, wandering diſpoſition. 1760. Sept. 8th.) Auguſt.

The troops are ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to march and embark on the ſhorteſt notice. The forty-ſixth regiment joined the army to-day. The grenadiers of the army, amounting to about ſix hundred men, are imbodied; and Lieutenant Colonel Maſſey commands this corps, with Captain Campbel, as Major, to aſſiſt him; the light infantry companies of the regiments are alſo incorporated, forming ſix hundred men in like manner, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Amherſt, with Captain de Lancy, as Major, to be his aſſiſtant. The following corps are directed to receive the complement of batteaus and whale-boats annexed to them. 6th.

First battalion of Royal Highlanders,	42d regiment,	23 batteaus.
Second ditto, - - -		21
Forty-fourth regiment, - - - - -		30
Forty-ſixth, - - - - -		
Fifty-ſixth, - - - - - -		26
Fourth battalion of Royal Americans, - -		21
Seventy-ſeventh regiment, Highlanders, -		27
Colonel Maſſey's grenadiers, - - -		29
Eightieth regiment, light infantry, - -		32 whaleboats.
Colonel Amherſt's battalion of ditto. - -		40

Two companies of rangers, ſeven whale-boats each, and one batteau for baggage: every corps is allowed two batteaus over and above the foregoing numbers, for their ſtaff, medicine-cheſt, and ſuttler; except the eightieth regiment, which is to have three, and Amherſt's battalion of light infantry, four, for the ſame purpoſes. Eight oars, ſix paddles, four ſetting-poles and one ſcoop to each batteau: eight oars, twelve paddles, two ſetting poles and one ſcoop to each whale-boat. Each corps are to mark their own

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Auguſt. batteaus on the ſtarboard bow, and to be ranged in two ranks, extending up the river; and the Colonels commanding brigades, with the Officers commanding battalions, will be allowed one whale-boat reſpectively, for their own uſe. The complement of men in each batteau, beſides a quantity of proviſions, not exceeding fourteen barrels of flour, or twelve of pork, to be about twenty, a few more or leſs; and in each whale-boat about fourteen.

7th. Colonel Maſſey's battalion of grenadiers, with Colonel Amherſt's corps of light infantry, the firſt battalion of Royal Highlanders, and the two companies of rangers: all under the command of Colonel Haldimand are detached to take poſt at the bottom of the lake, and to aſſiſt the Onondaga and Mohawk in finding a paſſage to la Galette; an Officer and thirty men are put on board each of theſe veſſels: and two Engineers, with a batteau laden with intrenching-tools and a number of felling-axes, ſet off at the ſame time.

9th. The Jerſey blues, commanded by that brave expert Officer Colonel Scuyler, joined the army yeſterday and to-day; this is a well diſciplined, regular corps; their uniform is blue faced with ſcarlet, a good body of men, and make a reſpectable appearance. The works of the fort are now completed, as to the outward defences; but the interior parts are left for the garriſon to finiſh: about half-way between this fortreſs and lake Oneida ſtands a blockhouſe, and at the weſt end of that water, which is about ten leagues long, we have another fort, with a ſtrong poſt alſo at the eaſtern extremity of it; by theſe means a communication is kept up with the lakes, and the circumjacent country is protected from farther inſults, or apprehenſions. Five row-gallies have been built here, and mounted with twelve-pounders; a ſixth was intended, but, as the ſummer is far advanced, the General does not ſeem diſpoſed to retard the buſineſs of the campaign any longer, and, having a ſufficient force without

without it, the army will proceed to-morrow, every preparation being made for this purpoſe. 1760. (Sept. 8th.)

The troops were ordered to embark early this morning, but this buſineſs being unavoidably attended with great delay, where ſuch prodigious numbers of batteaus and other craft are neceſſary, the General went forward with the remainder of the regulars, leaving the provincials and rear-guard of the army to follow with all convenient ſpeed, under Brigadier Gage. At night we had a violent ſtorm, which continued, whereby ſeveral batteaus and boats were ſtaved and loſt, but very fortunately we had only one man drowned. Captain Stuart, of the Royal Highlanders, with one hundred and ſixty-nine men, remain at Oſwego for garriſon-duty; beſides ſixty artificers to carry on the works of the fort, under the direction of Captain Sowers, Engineer: our number of ſick, in the hoſpital there, amounts to almoſt two hundred and ninety. Auguſt 10th.

Brigadier Gage completed the embarkation, and departed from Oſwego on the 11th; to-day he came up with the firſt diviſion, without meeting with any accident, and the army joined Colonel Haldimand's advanced corps. By the number of men left to garriſon the different poſts behind us, and a variety of other caſualties, the embarkation return of the army does not exceed ten thouſand one hundred and forty-two: and, notwithſtanding our ſtrong muſter of Indian warriors on the 5th inſtant, they are now, by deſertion, reduced to ſeven hundred and ſix; the army ſails in the ſame order as heretofore, except that we form three columns only inſtead of four. 14th.

The Onondago and Mohawk, whom we paſſed to-day, having got out of the right channel, cannot accompliſh to proceed with the forces; and the General having received intelligence by an Indian that one of the enemy's veſſels lies off la Galette; that the other is a-ground and ſo much damaged that ſhe cannot ſail from the fort; his Excellency has determined not to wait for the ſnows, but to puſh forward with all expedition, and rout the enemy from 15th.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) their advanced poſt at l'Iſle Royale, the only obſtruction, we are told, we may expect in the river, the navigation excepted.

Auguſt 16th. The General has advanced with the five row-gallies, after firſt fixing an eight inch-howitzer on board one of them, attended by the van of the army, commanded by Colonel Francis Grant, conſiſting of the grenadiers, light infantry corps, and rangers: but, as it was late in the afternoon before we reached the Point de Barille, an expreſs was ſent back to Brigadier Gage, with orders, in caſe he cannot make that point, to land the army on the north ſhore. Some time after we got a view of the enemy's brig, who, upon diſcovering us, fired ſignal-guns; upon which, the weather being mild and favourable, we endeavoured to puſh on and attack her, but, ſable night interpoſing, we are obliged to poſtpone it, and therefore have taken ſhelter in the ſouth ſhore; the remainder of the army arrived very late at the Point de Barille.

17th. The Outawa brig attempted to eſcape up the river very early this morning, but was interrupted by our row-gallies, commanded by Colonel Williamſon, who attacked her vigorouſly, when, after an obſtinate engagement of two hours and upwards, wherein ſhe had fifteen men killed and wounded, her Commander, M. de la Broquerie thought proper to ſtrike; it has been obſerved before, that four of theſe gallies carried each a braſs twelve-pounder, and the fifth an howitzer. This is a remarkable action, and does great honour to the Colonel, who was a volunteer on this occaſion; for the brig mounted one eighteen-pounder, ſeven twelve-pounders, two eights, with four ſwivels, and had one hundred men on board, being a topſail, of near one hundred and ſixty tons: ſhe diſcharged ſeventy-two rounds; and the gallies, who had five Officers and twenty-five artillery-men only excluſive of provincial rowers, fired one hundred and eighteen: the General was highly pleaſed at this capture, which he teſtified by his acknowledgments to the Colonel and Officers, with a generous reward to the Gunners. Such was the ſervice performed by four guns and one howitzer, with the ſole loſs of one man killed

killed and two wounded; and ſuch the proweſs diſplayed in this fight by a Land-Officer, in the lake Ontario, that it deſerves to be tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity, and regiſtered among the moſt memorable naval engagements that are recorded in the Britiſh annals. Two Engineers, with covering parties, were, immediately after the action, detached down the river, to reconnoitre l'Iſle Royale, with the adjoining coaſts and iſlands. Brigadier Gage, with the main of the army, joined, from the Point de Barille; and the General having poſſeſſed himſelf of Oſwegatchie *, the whole incamped there. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Auguſt.

The weather is exceedingly unfavourable to our operations, yet the General, intent on a vigorous proſecution of his meaſures, reſolves to loſe no time: this morning was taken up with the repairs of the row-gallies and prize-veſſel, and at ten o'clock the Engineers, with the covering party, returned, and made their report; but his Excellency was predetermined, and the army are in readineſs. The firſt diviſion, conſiſting of the grenadiers, two battalions of light infantry, the right brigade of regulars, Scuyler's regiment, the greateſt part of the Indians with Sir William Johnſon, three row-gallies, and ſome field artillery, are to proceed down by the north ſhore, commanded by the General in perſon; paſs the fort, and take poſſeſſion of the iſlands and coaſts below it; at the ſame time the ſecond diviſion, compoſed of the left brigade of regulars, Lyman's regiment, two ranging companies, the remainder of the Indians, and two row-gallies, under the command of Colonel Haldimand, to row down to the ſouth coaſt, and take poſt oppoſite to the fort, where they will not be expoſed to the 18th.

* Called by ſome Geographers *Chouagatchie*, and by the French *la Galete*, where there is a conſiderable rivulet of the ſame name: it lies to the ſouthward of l'Iſle Royale, l'Iſle Galot, and a clutch of other iſlands, of which the former is the moſt northerly, at the head of the Rapids; and is computed to be about twenty miles down to the river, from the north-eaſt corner of Lake Ontario.

fire

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Auguſt. fire of the place, whilſt the prize, now deſervedly called the Williamſon Brig, under Lieutenant Sinclair, will ſail down the center of the river, between the two diviſions, with directions to moor at random ſhot from the fort; Brigadier-General Gage, with the reſt of the army and the heavy artillery, to remain at Oſwegatchi. Such is the diſpoſition his Excellency made, before the return of the Engineers, and it was ſpiritedly executed accordingly, under a briſk and continued cannonade, directed againſt the brig and the General's column, whereby one galley was ſunk, ten men were killed and wounded, one of whom loſt a thigh, and many batteaus and oars were grazed with ſhot; as the north diviſion rowed in ſingle files, it was eleven at night before the ſternmoſt boat joined, and then the blockade of the fort was completely formed. Our Indians landed on the iſlands Galot and Picquet, which the enemy abandoned with the greateſt precipitation, having left a number of ſcalps, two ſwivel-guns, ſome barrels of pitch, a quantity of tools and utenſils, with ſome iron, behind them; our Indians were ſo exaſperated at finding the ſcalps, that they fired all their houſes, not ſparing even the chapel. Late in the night an attempt was made to weigh up the galley that was ſunk, but we could not ſucceed.

19th. The General, with Colonel Williamſon and Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre *, reconnoitred the fort and the iſlands neareſt to it, on two of which ground is made choice of for batteries, about ſix hundred yards from the fort, as alſo for a third on an advantageous point of land on the ſouth ſhore; and detachments are immediately ordered to break ground, cut and make faſcines, with every other preparation for carrying on the ſiege. Orders are ſent to Oſwegatchi for

* This genteel fellow arrived at that rank ſolely by his merit, of which he had a large ſhare; he was unfortunately drowned in his paſſage to Ireland, long after the concluſion of the war, and in the prime of his life. In his profeſſion, as an Engineer, he was exceedingly eminent, and an honour to his country; the ſervice and the army, to whom he was a ſhining ornament, have ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs by his death.

the

the heavy artillery, which are expected down this night. The Onondaga and Mohawk appeared to-day, they received orders, in like manner, as the brig, to come to an anchor at random shot from the fort, and, if cannonaded, not to return it. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.

The remainder of the army, except one Connecticut regiment, are ordered down from Oswegatchie; whence our heavy artillery arrived late last night, and the row-galley, with her gun, were weighed up. The fort fired on the brig yesterday, which she spiritedly returned, until ordered to desist. 20th.

The troops have worked with such diligence, that our batteries will be completed this night, and ready to play on Fort Levis to-morrow. 22d.

The batteries were opened this morning, and had such effect, that the enemy drew in their guns, and endeavoured to serve them *à couvert*. After some hours' firing a disposition was made to storm the fort with the grenadiers of the army, in which the three vessels were to have assisted; for this purpose a number of marksmen were judiciously placed on board each ship, with a view of compelling the enemy to abandon their guns; and they were ordered to fall down on the fort, within the range of small arms; but whether the vessels were confused with the weight of the enemy's fire, or that the miscarriage may be imputed to the navigation, or the wind, is difficult to determine; for the General, not approving of their manner of working down, sent orders to them to return to their former station, and desisted from his project for the present. The garrison expended a great deal of ammunition to little purpose; and our artillery were so well served, that the enemy were rather shy of standing to their guns. 23d.

We have had warm cannonading on both sides, but their guns being at length dismounted by our superior fire, M. Pouchot, the Governor, after displaying as much gallantry as could be expected in his situation, beat a *chamade*, and, in the afternoon, capitulated for his garrison, who are become prisoners of war; they consist of two Captains, 25th.

1760. (Sept. 8h.) Auguſt. Captains, ſix Subalterns, and two hundred and ninty-one men, all ranks included; they had a Lieutenant of artillery, with twelve men, killed, and thirty-five wounded; our loſs, in this ſiege, are, twenty-one men killed, and twenty-three wounded. The ordnance, mounted at Fort Levis, are twelve twelve-pounders, two eight-pounders, two ſixes, thirteen fours, four of one pound each, and four braſs ſix-pounders; Lieutenant-Colonel Maſſey has taken poſſeſſion of the fort with three companies of his battalion.

Fort Levis, on l'Iſle Royale, is in a moſt advantageous ſituation; the iſland is ſmall, and intirely comprehended within the works, which are carried on in the ſame irregular manner as Nature has formed the inſulary ſhores about it; but the area of the fort is a regular ſquare within four baſtions only, which ſeems to have been the firſt intention upon fortifying the iſland; ſo that the other defences, to all appearance, have been occaſionally added to render the place more reſpectable, and cut off our communication to Montreal; to which it is an excellent barrier, at the head of a number of dreadful rapids, and commands, in a great meaſure, the navigation between Lake Ontario and Canada. The country north and ſouth is apparently even, rich, and capable of great improvement, inhabited principally by Indians, which, with the uncommon fertility of the circumjacent iſlands, producing Indian and other corn in great abundance, and the proſpect of an immenſe fur-trade, induced the Governor-General of the colony to eſtabliſh a ſtrong ſettlement in this diſtrict. The batteries erected againſt Fort Levis conſiſted of ſix guns each, beſides mortars, though deſigned for a greater number, if neceſſary, and the two iſlands whereon they are conſtructed are occupied chiefly by Colonel Maſſey's grenadiers, with Brigadier Gage's and Colonel Amherſt's corps of light infantry, who firſt took poſſeſſion of them; and the remainder of the army, except Colonel Haldimand's detachment on the ſouth-point battery, are diſperſed on other contiguous iſlands, in ſuch manner as to ſurround the fortreſs, and cut off the enemy's retreat, in caſe they had been inclined to abandon and retire.

As

As the occurrences of this campaign are extremely intereſting, I ſhall preſent the reader with another narrative, equally authentic, of the foregoing tranſactions; different men make different obſervations, and the following relation contains ſome particulars not already told, therefore I am perſuaded it will be very ſatisfactory: 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Auguſt.

'Between the 6th and 14th of July the enemy's armed veſſels appeared on Lake Ontario, and Captain Loring, who came round to us from Niagara with our two ſnows, was ordered in queſt of them; foggy weather happening, the enemy diſcovered Captain Loring's veſſel only, and, thinking him alone, bore down to fight him, which he declined, by edging away towards his companion, and thereby gave the French, as we afterwards learned, an opportunity to diſcover both our ſnows; whereupon they crowded ſail, and got down to La Gallette, Oſwegatchie, notwithſtanding the General's orders were peremptory, "to intercept and fight the "enemy's veſſels in their paſſage down the Cataraqui." This was looked upon as an unfavourable circumſtance, being apprehenſive leſt the enemy, having once diſcovered our ſtrength, would not venture up the river again, and the taking or deſtroying them would greatly accelerate our getting forwards; beſides, we had reaſon to ſuſpect they might moor their veſſels as floating-batteries againſt our batteaus and whale-boats in going down. From this to the 9th of Auguſt, we were employed in getting our batteaus and whale-boats in order, and diſtributing them, together with five row-gallies, properly manned, to fight the enemy's brigs, and croſs the lake. On the 10th we moved forward, having detached the light infantry on before, under the convoy of two ſloops; in four of our gallies, which are ſomething like Folkſtone cutters, though not ſo ſtrong, we mounted four heavy braſs twelve-pounders, and in the fifth an eight-inch howitzer. By the 16th we got down within three miles of Oſwegatchie, where we ſaw one of the French brigs lying in wait for us (the other having grounded, and thereby rendered uſeleſs.) In our paſſage we

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Auguſt. ‘ we ſaw our two ſnows at anchor, not truſting to go any farther, ‘ having taken a wrong channel, among many iſlands, and being ‘ to go back part of the way to find the right one; we thought ‘ this an unlucky event, yet reſolved to perſevere, and not wait for ‘ them: we were diſpoſed of in three diviſions, one to go a-head ‘ with the grenadiers and light-armed infantry, headed by the row-‘ gallies; the other two to follow, within ſight, and a-breaſt of ‘ each other, the river being broad enough for that purpoſe. Colo-‘ nel Williamſon having requeſted he might have the honour to ‘ attack the Frenchman with his five gallies, the General conſented: ‘ they then got within random-ſhot of her, but, falling dark, de-‘ ferred the undertaking until the grey of the next morning, the ‘ 17th, when they contrived it ſo well, that in two hours and a ‘ quarter ſhe ſtruck, which gave great ſatisfaction to the General ‘ and the whole army. The howitzer did not fire above twice, ‘ ſome timbers in that galley having given way; ſo that we may ‘ ſay only four guns took a topſail veſſel of one eighteen-pounder, ‘ ſeven twelve-pounders, two eight-pounders, one hundred and fifty ‘ tons, and one hundred men; on board the gallies, independent of ‘ the provincials, who only rowed, were twenty-five of the royal ‘ artillery, together with Captain Strachey, Lieutenants Williamſon, ‘ Standiſh, Davis, and Conner, ſix to each veſſel; and Colonel ‘ Williamſon rowed, in a ſmall boat, from galley to galley, giving ‘ directions how to attack moſt effectually, and with greateſt ſafety. ‘ We had one Serjeant killed and two wounded; the French had ‘ three killed and twelve wounded. The troops had not an oppor-‘ tunity to fire, though three hundred grenadiers, commanded by ‘ Colonel Francis Grant, were in motion to board her. As our two ‘ ſnows were not yet come down, taking this prize greatly facili-‘ tated our moving on, and the General, having thanked the Of-‘ cers for their gallant behaviour, named the prize the Williamſon ‘ Brig, in compliment to the Colonel, and generouſly preſented ‘ the artillery-men with twenty-five guineas. We repaired our

‘ capture

'capture next day for ſervice, and the whole army rowed down and 'took poſſeſſion of La Gallette, abandoned by the French and 'Oſwegatchie Indians, who declared neuter. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Auguſt.

'On the 18th of Auguſt we moved forwards to deſtroy another 'veſſel, and five or ſix ſmall row-gallies with four-pounders on 'board; but they were covered by the fort on Iſle Galot, about 'three miles below Gallette: the French having lately called it Iſle 'Royale, on account of its being fortified to oppoſe our paſſage 'down to Montreal. The 19th we rowed down, one by one, at 'about fifty yards aſunder, not minding their fire, within reach, 'and took poſſeſſion of all the other iſlands round, hemming the ene-'my in on every ſide; on two of which iſlands we erected batteries 'at about ſeven hundred yards, to contain ſixteen pieces of artil-'lery, twenty-four and twelve-pounders, with one ten-inch mor-'tar, and two howitzers; which was begun to open at ſun-riſe on 'the 23d, and, in ſixty hours' time, the fort ſurrendered to us pri-'ſoners of war.

'During this ſpace of time an odd circumſtance happened: the 'General intended an aſſault on the fort, with the grenadiers firſt, '&c. and ordered the Williamſon Brig, with Captain Loring in 'the Onondago, and Mr. Phips in the Mohawk, who had joined 'us that morning, as alſo the four row-gallies, to cover the landing. 'The Mohawk came down, without the other two, who ſeemed 'inclinable to follow, and fired briſkly, when very near the fort, for 'a conſiderable time; but was ſo roughly handled, that ſhe was 'obliged to cut her cable and away, for fear of ſinking. By this 'time the Williamſon came into play, but, receiving a ſhot in an 'unlucky place, ſtarted a plank, which obliged her to retire to a 'neighbouring iſland to be repaired: the Onondago at length came 'down, but, not taking the ſame courſe, ſtopped in ſhallow water 'pretty near the enemy, who fired every time into her, when ſhe 'could not help herſelf, though within four hundred yards of one of 'our batteries; ſhe ſtruck to the enemy, and ſent a batteau to them

1760. (Sept. 8th) August.

'with four men and Mr. Thornton, the Commodore's ſecond, who 'looking at that diſtance ſo like Loring, we thought at the batteries 'it was he. The ſame boat rowing back again to the ſhip with 'with one of her crew, probably to fire her, Captain Adam Wil-'liamſon *, the Engineer, pointed a gun, and fired through her, 'taking both that fellow's arms off, which made her row into ſhore 'directly; perceiving then there was a ſquabble on board the Onon-'dago about what they ſhould do, the General ſent an Officer's 'party on board, who hoiſted the colours again, and ſaved her for 'ourſelves.

'Mr. Thornton ſays Captain Loring ordered him to ſtrike, &c. 'we are told he acknowledges he did, and inſiſts that he can an-'ſwer it; — I confeſs I am not converſant in ſea-rules; but, if he 'and the crew could not ſtand it on board, they ought not to ſtrike 'ſo near our batteries, but come over to us, and leave every thing 'ſtanding, to wait an happier iſſue; theſe veſſels coming down 'ſeparately, and not together, ſtopped the grenadiers from go-'ing on.

'The fort was worſe handled than we imagined; as it is an iſland, 'having no land within ſeven hundred yards of it, it may be for-'tified, capable of a good defence, againſt a ſmall army and light 'artillery; the two veſſels of the enemy were behind their iſland, 'filled with water, that we might not take them: they had five 'ſmall row-gallies, with three of our iron three-pounders, very good 'guns, in three of them; — the other two had French fours, but 'did not make uſe of them. All round the iſland, except two 'places, twenty yards wide each for boats, had a ſtrong *abattis* of 'branches of trees, running ten or fourteen feet into the river; this 'oppoſition would have made a bloody landing: within that was a 'covered-way, badly made; next a ditch, partly wet, not deep, 'with a ſtockade in the middle, running all round the fort. The

* Son to that identical Colonel, now Major-General George, Williamſon.

'fort,

'fort, not well flanked, is raiſed to its *cordon* height with excellent 1760.
'well-bound faſcines, then a frize all round, the ſtakes ſticking (Sept. 8th.)
'out horizontally; over this runs a general frame of ſquared timbers, Auguſt.
'as a baſis whereon to build the merlins, which are caſed with
'ſquare timbers, dove-tailed, with land-ties; and the embraſures
'look on every part of the water, to annoy boats at landing.'

From the reduction of l'Iſle Royale to the 30th incluſive, the army have been employed in repairing the fort, with our batteaus and other veſſels, landing ſtores and proviſions for the new garriſon, which conſiſts of two hundred men, with Officers in proportion, under the command of Captain Oſborn; as alſo for the ſick and wounded, who are left in hoſpitals here to the number of two hundred and fifteen.

All things being prepared, the army proceeded down the ri- 31ſt.
ver; we paſſed the rapids Galot and Plat, through a moſt terrifying navigation, without any accident; reached Cat Iſland where we incamped, about forty-four miles from Ontario. The country on both ſides is ſeemingly fruitful, the ground level, ſome cleared, and ſome producing extenſive veins of excellent timber of various kinds. The Indians exceedingly diſappointed at not being permitted to butcher and ſcalp the late garriſon of Fort Levis, twenty whale-boats of them have deſerted Sir William Johnſon ſince the reduction of that fortreſs: this is quite uniform with their conduct on all occaſions, whenever opportunity ſeems to offer for their being ſerviceable to us.

This day we paſſed the long falls, and, the river being narrow as well as dangerous, the boats were obliged to keep at a diſtance to avoid riding, and to row in ſingle files; the rapids are frightful, and full of broken waves; the batteaus took in water, and, unluckily, four men of the forty-ſecond regiment were drowned. Detachments were ſent forward to Lake St. Francis, but the main body remained at Johnſon's Point, which is fifty-eight miles diſtant from the north-eaſt corner of Ontario, and fourteen from Cat Iſland. Sir William Johnſon

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept. Johnſon and his Myrmidons went to Haſqueſaſhnagh, a ſmall Indian village of the five nations, to ſmoke the pipe of peace, and to aſſure them of our protection, upon their future good behaviour.

The army reached Point Baudet, in the Lake St. Francis, being about twenty-five miles from Johnſon's Point. A detachment of the enemy, under M. Capitaine la Corne, had occupied this place to watch our motions, but, upon the approach of our Indians, he went off.

We had a violent ſtorm of wind and rain laſt night, and, continuing to-day, the army are obliged to halt. A priſoner was brought in, by one of our ſcouting parties, from the Cedars, where we have a guard of one hundred and fifty men poſted. The lands on the banks of this lake are not ſo good as they are higher up, though an induſtrious people might ſoon render them fertile and profitable; at preſent they are inhabited by different tribes of Indians; but the iſlands here, being numerous, of which St. Peter's is the principal, are ſettled, well improved, and occupied by Canadians; their chief ſubſiſtence is beaver and ſalmon; in theſe the country and its waters abound.

4th. Fine weather to-day; the army reimbarked very early this morning, and put off; but the navigation was inconceivably dangerous, inſomuch that the loſs of the greateſt part of the troops ſeemed inevitable: we encountered the rapids, *cotau du lac*, *hattures des Cedres*, *Buiſſon*, *trou et le Caſcade*, of which the two laſt are the moſt dreadful that can be imagined. The General, apprehenſive leſt the enemy, whoſe greateſt dependence was placed in what might happen in working through thoſe rifts, had provided a parcel of gallies and armed boats, with troops, to ſurpriſe the army, upon a ſuppoſition that it would be no difficult matter to route or deſtroy them in this diſmal paſſage, puſhed through, regardleſs of his own ſafety, with all expedition, at the head of the grenadiers, light infantry battalions, rangers, row-gallies, and a detachment of artillery, leaving Brigadier Gage, with the remainder of the forces, to follow more

leiſurley,

leiſurely, one boat after another, hoping, by his own preſence, to prevent a total diſcomfit, in caſe of an enemy being immediately before him: his Excellency moſt happily effected this paſſage, with the loſs only of forty-ſix batteaus, ſeventeen whale-boats, and one row-galley, whereby eighty-four men were unfortunately drowned, a few pieces of ordnance, and ſome ſtores and proviſions loſt: trifling, indeed, to what otherwiſe might have happened, if the enemy had been more attentive to this place, which it was extremely natural to ſuppoſe they would; and why they diſregarded a project of this kind is amazingly unaccountable. The greateſt part of the army worked through without any farther accident, and reached l'Iſle Perrot, about two miles from the river St. Lawrence; but, it being too late for the remainder to join, they were obliged to put a-ſhore, and incamp by themſelves. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept.

The troops halted, to repair their whale-boats and batteaus, which afforded time for the reſt to come up, who joined us this day; there are ſeveral ſettlements on this iſland, but the inhabitants abandoned them, and concealed themſelves in the woods; ſome of them were afterwards taken, and others, ſeeing there was no violence offered to their houſes, came in, and took the oath of neutrality. The poor creatures rejoiced that they have now ſo fair a proſpect of peace and quietneſs, and expreſſed the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the excellent diſcipline kept up in this army, particularly among the Indians, of whom they were under the greateſt apprehenſions. 5th.

The army reimbarked at day-break this morning, rowed along the ſouth coaſt in four diviſions, and, having no farther obſtructions in the river, happily arrived, in a few hours, at La Chine, on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland of Montreal, the period of our labours, without any material oppoſition. The enemy were more complaiſant to General Amherſt than to their old acquaintances from Quebec, his Excellency having only one bridge to repair as he advanced: the greateſt part of the army marched on directly towards Montreal, about two leagues and a half from the place of landing, where five battalions 6th.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept. battalions of provincials remained in charge of the batteaus, &c. &c. The General formed the troops at a ſmall diſtance from the city on the north-weſt ſide of it, got up ten field-pieces from three to twelve-pounders, detached the picquets of the line to cover his ground, and doubled all his advanced centries; the ſame ſteady precautions were taken at La Chine, and the whole army lay on their arms this night.

7th. Two French Officers came to one of the advanced-poſts this morning, and, deſiring to be conducted to the Commander in Chief, preſented him with the following billet, dated from Montreal:

'SIR,

'I ſend to your Excellency M. de Bougainville, Colonel of In-
'fantry, accompanied by M. de Lac, a Captain of the Queen's
'regiment; you may rely on all that the ſaid Colonel ſhall ſay to
'your Excellency in my name, &c. &c.

(Signed) VAUDREUIL.'

The converſation, that enſued between the General and the Colonel, terminated in a ceſſation of hoſtilities until noon, at which time propoſals for capitulating were ſent out, and returned by the General, along with his own and the annexed letter:

'Camp before Montreal, &c.

'SIR,

'I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured me
'with this morning by Colonel Bougainville; ſince which the
'terms of capitulation, which you demand, have been delivered
'to me. I ſend them back to your Excellency with thoſe I have
'reſolved to grant you; and there only remains for me to deſire,
'that your Excellency will take a determination as ſoon as poſſible,

'as I ſhall make no alteration in them. If your Excellency accepts of theſe conditions, you may be aſſured that I will take care they ſhall be duly executed, and that I will take a particular pleaſure to alleviate your fate, as much as poſſible, by procuring to you, and to your retinue, all the conveniencies that depend on me." 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept.

'(Signed) JEFFERY AMHERST.'

'His Excellency the Marquis
'de Vaudreuil, &c.'

This was followed by an exchange of letters here ſubjoined:

The Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Amherſt.

'I have received the letter your Excellency has honoured me with this day, as well as the anſwer to the articles which I had cauſed to be propoſed to you by M. de Bougainville. I ſend the ſaid Colonel back to your Excellency; and I perſuade myſelf that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a repreſentation to your Excellency, which I cannot diſpenſe with myſelf from making.'

The General, being determined upon the ſurrender of the colony on his own terms, declined an interview with M. de Bougainville, by ſending Major Abercrombie to receive the foregoing letter, to which his Excellency returned the following anſwer:

'Major Abercrombie has, this moment, delivered to me the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in anſwer to that which I had addreſſed to you, with the conditions on which I expect that Canada ſhall ſurrender: I have already had

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'the honour to inform your Excellency, that I ſhould not make 'any alteration in them; I cannot deviate from this reſolution. — 'Your Excellency will therefore be pleaſed to take a determination 'immediately, and acquaint me in your anſwer whether you will 'accept them or not.'

The General then received a letter from the Chevalier de Levis, which, with his anſwer, come next in ſucceſſion:

'I ſend to your Excellency M. de la Pauſe, Aſſiſtant Quarter-Maſter 'General to the army, on the ſubject of the too rigorous article which 'you impoſe on the troops by the capitulation, and to which it 'would not be poſſible for us to ſubſcribe; be pleaſed to conſider the 'ſeverity of that article. I flatter myſelf that you will be pleaſed 'to give ear to the repreſentations that Officer will make to you 'on my part, and have regard to them, &c. &c.'

When the bearer of this billet ſaw that the General had peruſed its contents, he attempted to ſupport the Chevalier's complaint, reſpecting the article alluded to: but his Excellency commanded him to ſilence, and told him, — 'he was fully reſolved, for the 'infamous part the troops of France had acted in exciting the 'ſavages to perpetrate the moſt horrid and unheard of barbarities 'in the whole progreſs of the war, and for other open treacheries, 'as well as flagrant breaches of faith, to manifeſt to all the world, 'by this capitulation, his deteſtation of ſuch ungenerous practices, 'and diſapprobation of their conduct; therefore inſiſted he might 'decline any remonſtrances on this ſubject.' — When the General had thus nobly expreſſed his ſentiments to M. de la Pauſe, he diſmiſſed him with the following anſwer to the letter addreſſed him by the Chevalier:

'The letter which you have ſent me by M. de la Pauſe has 'this inſtant been delivered to me: all I have to ſay in anſwer 'to it is, that I cannot alter, in the leaſt, the conditions which 'I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil; and I expect his

'definitive

'definitive anſwer by the bearer on his return; on every other 'occaſion I ſhall be glad to convince you of the conſideration 'with which I am, &c.' 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept.

Brigadier Murray, who was now on the eaſtern extremity of the iſland, having received certain information of General Amherſt's army being actually arrived before the city, and concluding, from the apparently peaceable diſpoſition of the iſlanders, a choice of authentic intelligence, and many other circumſtances conformable to the preſent criſis, that the Governor-General might be in treaty with our Commander in Chief, advanced in great order with the forces under his command, and two twelve-pounders in front, towards the city, to add weight to the General's meaſures, and to be nearer at hand to co-operate with his Excellency, in caſe any event might happen to make it neceſſary. By the time we had reached Long Point, the Brigadier received an expreſs from the General, by which he acquainted him, that a ceſſation of hoſtilities had taken place, that propoſals for capitulating were ſent out to him, and that the enemy were deliberating on thoſe he was reſolved to grant, and had tranſmitted to them in return; to which he demanded, and was in hourly expectation of, a final determination and anſwer: the General deſiring an expert Officer from our troops might be inſtantly tranſmitted to him, from whom he could get certain information of ſuch matters as he wiſhed to know, reſpecting our armament, the navigation up the river, the face of the country, and the poſture of affairs at Quebec: Captain Malone, of the forty-ſeventh regiment, was immediately detached for this purpoſe; at the ſame time, the night being very dark, the roads indifferent, and in ſome places rendered impaſſable by a number of bridges broken up, the Brigadier thought proper to canton his forces, except the van and rear guards, who lay on their arms until morning; as did likewiſe the Commander in Chief's army, as on the preceding night.

1760. Sept. 8th. Early this morning, the General received the following letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, dated from the city, as before:

'I have determined to accept the conditions which your Excellency propoſes: in conſequence whereof I deſire you will come to a determination, with regard to the meaſures to be taken relative to the ſigning of the ſaid articles.'

The General then returned this anſwer by Major Abercrombie, who was charged to bring back the articles of capitulation, ſigned by the Marquis de Vaudreuil: — 'In order to fulfil ſo much the ſooner, on my part, the execution of the conditions which your Excellency has juſt determined to accept, I would propoſe, that you ſhould ſign the articles which I ſent yeſterday to your Excellency, and that you would ſend them back to me by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate may be made of them immediately, which I ſhall ſign and tranſmit to your Excellency. I repeat here the aſſurances of the deſire I have to procure to your Excellency, and to the Officers and troops under your command, all poſſible conveniencies and protection: for which purpoſe I reckon that you will judge it proper that I ſhould cauſe poſſeſſion to be taken of the gates, and place guards, immediately after the reciprocal ſignature of the capitulation: however, I ſhall leave this to your own convenience, ſince I propoſe it only with a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent, with the greater certainty, any thing being attempted againſt the good faith and terms of capitulation; in order to which I ſhall give the command of thoſe troops to Colonel Haldimand, who, I am perſuaded, will be agreeable to you.'

M. Vaudreuil having immediately ſigned the capitulation, and thereby ſurrendered Canada to his Majeſty's arms: the General loſt no time in returning him a counterpart thereof alſo ſigned, together with the following letter to the Marquis:

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'I have juſt ſent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, 'a duplicate of the capitulation, which you have ſigned this 'morning; and, in conformity thereto, and to the letters which 'have paſſed between us, I likewiſe ſend Colonel Haldimand to 'take poſſeſſion of one of the gates of the town, in order to in- 'force the obſervation of good order, and prevent differences on 'both ſides. I flatter myſelf that you will have room to be fully 'ſatisfied with my choice of the ſaid Colonel on this occaſion.'

While theſe important affairs were in agitation this morning, Brigadier-General Murray and his troops were in motion: and having received intimation from Captain Malone, that, in proceeding laſt night towards General Amherſt's camp, he fell in with the enemy's advanced poſt, where he was detained a priſoner, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances, without effect, to M. Bourlemacque of the injuſtice of ſuch a detention; whereupon the Brigadier, juſtly exaſperated at ſo inconſiſtent and ungenteel a procedure, puſhed forward with the grenadiers and light troops, leaving orders that the main body, with the artillery, ſhould follow as faſt as poſſible: ſeveral expreſſes were ſent out to requeſt the Brigadier would not advance, for the enemy were very apprehenſive of our reſenting the inſult offered to Mr. Murray and his forces in the perſon of Mr. Malone, but it was to no purpoſe; we marched on until we got within a little way of an advanced redoubt, where we halted, and made a diſpoſition for an attack; which the enemy perceiving, immediately preſented a flag of truce, and M. Bourlemacque advanced ſingly under another flag, and deſired to have the honour of a conference with Governor Murray, who inſtantly ſtepped up to him. However, all the rhetoric that the former could urge had no weight; for his Excellency aſſured him, if Captain Malone was not ſent out to him in the ſpace of five minutes, he would commence hoſtilities, and not leave one ſtone upon another in Montreal. The Brigadier, having thus declared his intentions, in order to inforce them, drew out his watch, and ſubjoined,

'Sir,

1760. Sept. ‘ Sir, go back to your poſt; I now allow you five minutes; if my ‘ Officer is not returned to me before the expiration of that time, ‘ you muſt take the conſequences.’ Happily, however, before that ſhort period was elapſed, an Officer from General Amherſt, accompanied by a French Officer, came out to us on a full gallop, and acquainted the Brigadier, ‘ that the articles of capitulation ‘ were ratified on both ſides, whereby the French troops had con- ‘ ſented to lay down their arms, and the colony had ſurrendered to ‘ his Majeſty.’ Our project being thus fruſtrated, we marched on to our ground; and, the like notice being tranſmitted to Brigadier Haviland, now arrived with all his corps at Longueüil, the three armies incamped, and the following orders were immediately publiſhed by the Commander in Chief:

ORDERS.

“ The grenadiers and light infantry to parade at the grenadiers’ “ incampment, where they will be joined by a twelve-pounder: “ Colonel Haldimand will take the command of theſe corps, to “ take poſſeſſion of the city of Montreal; and the eldeſt Enſign “ of the army will go in, to take charge of the colours. Colonel “ Haldimand will not permit any one perſon to go in or out of “ the town, except the guards, and thoſe in public offices, and “ Officers in all the departments, for the care of the King’s ſtores; “ and a liſt of theſe laſt muſt be given in to the Colonel. The “ General ſees, with infinite pleaſure, the ſucceſs which has “ crowned the indefatigable and faithful efforts of his Majeſty’s “ troops in North-America. The Marquis of Vaudreuil has “ capitulated; the troops of France, in Canada, have laid down “ their arms; they are not to ſerve during this war: and the “ whole country has ſubmitted to the dominion of Great Britain. “ The three armies are all intitled to the General’s thanks on this “ occaſion, and he aſſures them he will take the firſt opportunity

“ of

" of acquainting his Majeſty with the zeal and bravery which has 1760. Sept.
" always been exerted by the Officers and ſoldiers of the regular
" and provincial troops, and alſo by his faithful Indian allies. The
" General is confident that, when the troops are informed this
" country is the King's, they will not diſgrace themſelves by the
" leaſt appearance of inhumanity, or by any unſoldierlike beha-
" viour of ſeeking for plunder: but that, as the Canadians are
" now become Britiſh ſubjects, they may feel the good effects
" his Majeſty's protection."

ARTICLES of CAPITULATION between their Excellencies Major General Amherſt, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majeſty's Troops and Forces in North-America, on the one Part; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, &c. Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada, on the other.

ARTICLE I.

Twenty-four hours after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation, the Britiſh General ſhall cauſe the troops of his Britannic Majeſty to take poſſeſſion of the gates of the town of Montreal: and the Btitiſh garriſon ſhall not enter the place till after the French troops ſhall have evacuated it. — 'The whole garriſon of Montreal muſt 'lay down their arms, and ſhall not ſerve during the preſent war. 'Immediately after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation, the 'King's troops ſhall take poſſeſſion of the gates, and ſhall poſt the 'guards neceſſary to preſerve good order in the town.'

ARTICLE II.

The troops and the militia, who are in garriſon in the town of Montreal, ſhall go out by the gate of Quebec, with all the honours of war, ſix pieces of cannon, and one mortar, which ſhall be put on board the veſſel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil ſhall

1760. Sept. ſhall embark, with ten rounds for each piece; and the ſame ſhall be granted to the garriſon of the Three Rivers, as to the honours of war. — 'Referred to the next article.'

ARTICLE III.

The troops and militia, who are in garriſon in the fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the iſland of St. Helen, and other forts, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner, and ſhall have the ſame honours; and theſe troops ſhall go to Montreal, or the Three Rivers, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the firſt ſea-port in France by the ſhorteſt way. The troops, who are in our poſts, ſituated on our frontiers, on the ſide of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimaquinac *, and other poſts, ſhall enjoy the ſame honours, and be treated in the ſame manner. — 'All theſe troops are not to 'ſerve during the preſent war, and ſhall likewiſe lay down their 'arms. The reſt is GRANTED.'

ARTICLE IV.

The militia, after evacuating the above towns, forts, and poſts, ſhall return to their habitations, without being moleſted on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE V.

The troops, who keep the field, ſhall raiſe their camp, drums beating, with their arms, baggage and artillery, to join the garriſon of Montreal, and ſhall be treated in every reſpect the ſame. — 'Theſe troops, as well as the others, muſt lay down their arms.'

* The moſt remote poſt the enemy had on this ſide ſituated at the N. N. W. point of Lake Huron.

ARTICLE VI.

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ARTICLE VI.

The ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſoldiers, militia, or ſeamen, who ſhall have deſerted or left the ſervice of their Sovereign, and carried arms in North-America, ſhall be, on both ſides, pardoned for their crime; they ſhall be reſpectively returned to their country; if not, each ſhall remain where he is without being ſought after or moleſted. — 'REFUSED.'

ARTICLE VII.

The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, ſabres, ammunition of war, and, in general, every thing that belongs to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Three Rivers, as in the forts and poſts mentioned in the third article, ſhall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the Commiſſaries, who ſhall be appointed to receive the ſame in the name of his Britannic Majeſty. Duplicates of the ſaid inventories ſhall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. — 'This is every thing that can be 'aſked on this article.'

ARTICLE VIII.

The Officers, ſoldiers, militia, ſeamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds, or ſickneſs, as well as in the hoſpital as in private houſes, ſhall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly. — 'The ſick and wounded ſhall be treated the ſame as our own people.'

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ARTICLE IX.

The Britiſh General ſhall engage to ſend back, to their own homes, the Indians and Moraigans, who make part of his armies, immediately after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation. And, in the mean time, the better to prevent all diſorders on the part of thoſe who may not be gone away, the ſaid Generals ſhall give ſafeguards to ſuch perſons as ſhall deſire them, as well in the town as in the country. — 'The firſt part REFUSED. There never 'have been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army: 'and good order ſhall be preſerved.'

ARTICLE X.

His Britannic Majeſty's General ſhall be anſwerable for all diſorders on the part of his troops, and ſhall oblige them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in the country. '— Anſwered by the preceding article.'

ARTICLE XI.

The Britiſh General ſhall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before and no perſon ſhall be quartered in his houſe till he is gone. The Chevalier de Levis, Commander of the land-forces and colony troops, the Engineers, Officers of the artillery, and Commiſſary of war, ſhall alſo remain at Montreal till the ſaid day, and ſhall keep their lodgings there. The ſame ſhall be obſerved with regard to M. Bigot, Intendant, the Commiſſaries of marines and Writers, whom the ſaid M. Bigot ſhall have occaſion for; and no perſon ſhall be lodged at the Intendant's houſe before he ſhall take his departure. — 'The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all

'these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses, and shall embark, 1760. Sept.
'when the King's ship shall be ready to sail for Europe; and all
'possible conveniencies shall be granted them.

ARTICLE XII.

The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, the Governor of Montreal, and the suite of this General, by the straitest passage to the first sea-port in France; and every necessary accommodation shall be made for them. This vessel shall be properly victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty: and the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined; and his equipages, plate, baggage, and also those of his retinue. — 'GRANTED, except the archives which shall be ne-
'cessary for the government of the country.'

ARTICLE XIII.

If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace should arrive, and, that by treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian Majesty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall return to Quebec, or Montreal; every thing shall return to its former state under the dominion of his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect. — 'Whatever the King may have done, on this subject, shall
'be obeyed.'

ARTICLE XIV.

Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France le Chevalier de Levis, the principal Officers, and the Staff of the land-forces, the Engineers, Officers of Artillery, and their domestics. These

1760. Sept. veſſels ſhall likewiſe be victualled, and the neceſſary accommodations provided in them. The ſaid Officers ſhall take with them their papers, without being examined, and alſo their equipages and baggage. Such of the ſaid Officers as ſhall be married ſhall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who ſhall alſo be victualled. — 'GRANTED, except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, 'and all the Officers, of whatever rank they may be, ſhall faith-'fully deliver to us all the charts and plans of the country.'

ARTICLE XV.

A veſſel ſhall alſo be appointed for the paſſage of M. Bigot, the Intendant, with his ſuite; in which veſſel the proper accommodation ſhall be made for him, and the perſons he ſhall take with him: he ſhall likewiſe embark with him his papers, which ſhall not be examined; his equipages, plate, baggage, and thoſe of his ſuite; this veſſel ſhall be victualled as before-mentioned. — 'GRANTED, with the ſame reſerve, as in the preceding article.'

ARTICLE XVI.

The Britiſh General ſhall alſo order the neceſſary and moſt convenient veſſels to carry to France M. de Longueüil, Governor of Trois Rivieres, the Staff of the colony, and the Commiſſary of the marine; they ſhall embark therein their families, ſervants, baggage, and equipages; and they ſhall be properly victualled, during the paſſage, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XVII.

The Officers and ſoldiers, as well as of the land-forces, as of the colony, and alſo the marine Officers and ſeamen, who are in the colony, ſhall be likewiſe embarked for France, and ſufficient

and

and convenient veſſels ſhall be appointed for them. The Land and Sea Officers, who ſhall be married, ſhall take with them their families, and all of them ſhall have liberty to embark their ſervants and baggage. As to the ſoldiers and ſeamen, thoſe who are married ſhall take with them their wives and children, and all of them ſhall their haverſacks and baggage; theſe veſſels ſhall be properly and ſufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. — 'GRANTED' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Officers, ſoldiers, and the followers of the troops, who ſhall have their baggage in the fields, may ſend for it before they depart, without any hindrance or moleſtation. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XIX.

An hoſpital ſhip ſhall be provided by the Britiſh General, for ſuch of the wounded and ſick Officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen, as ſhall be in a condition to be carried to France, and ſhall likewiſe be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. It ſhall be the ſame with regard to the other wounded and ſick Officers, ſoldiers and ſailors, as ſoon as they ſhall be recovered. They ſhall have liberty to carry with them their wives, children, ſervants, and baggage; and the ſaid ſoldiers and ſailors ſhall not be ſolicited nor forced to enter into the ſervice of his Britannic Majeſty. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XX.

A Commiſſary, and one of the King's Writers, ſhall be left to take care of the hoſpitals, and whatever may relate to the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXI.

1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXI.

The Britiſh General ſhall alſo provide ſhips for carrying to France the Officers of the ſupreme council, of juſtice, police, admiralty, and all other Officers, having commiſſions or brevets from his moſt Majeſty, for them, their families, ſervants, and equipages, as well as for the other Officers: and they ſhall likewiſe be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. They ſhall, however, be at liberty to ſtay in the colony, if they think proper to ſettle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit. — 'GRANTED; but, if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered up to us'

ARTICLE XXII.

If there are any military Officers, whoſe affairs ſhould require their preſence in the colony till the next year, they ſhall have liberty to ſtay in it, after having obtained the permiſſion of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpoſe, and without being reputed priſoners of war. — 'All thoſe whoſe private affairs ſhall require their ſtay 'in the country, and who ſhall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's 'leave for ſo doing, ſhall be allowed to remain till their affairs 'are ſettled.'

ARTICLE XXIII.

The Commiſſary for the King's proviſions ſhall be at liberty to ſtay in Canada till next year, in order to be inabled to anſwer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furniſhed; but, if he ſhould prefer to go to France this year, he ſhall be obliged to leave, till next year, a perſon to tranſact his buſineſs. This private perſon ſhall preſerve, and have liberty to carry off, all his

his papers, without being inſpected. His Clerks ſhall have leave to ſtay in the colony, or go to France; and, in this laſt caſe, a paſſage and ſubſiſtence, ſhall be allowed them on board the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty, for them, their families, and their baggage. — 'GRANTED.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The proviſions, and other kind of ſtores, which ſhall be found in the magazines of the Commiſſary, as well in the towns of Montreal and of the Three Rivers, as in the country, ſhall be preſerved to him, the ſaid proviſions belonging to him, and not to the King; and he ſhall be at liberty to ſell them to the French and Engliſh. — 'Every thing that is actually in the magazines, deſtined for 'the uſe of the troops, is to be delivered to the Britiſh Commiſſary, 'for the King's forces.'

ARTICLE XXV.

A paſſage to France ſhall likewiſe be granted, on board of his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips, as well as victuals to ſuch Officers of the India company as ſhall be willing to go thither, and they ſhall take with them their families, ſervants, and baggage. The chief Agent of the ſaid company, in caſe he ſhould chuſe to go to France, ſhall be allowed to leave ſuch perſon as he ſhall think proper till next year, to ſettle the affairs of the ſaid company, and to recover ſuch ſums as are due to them. The ſaid chief Agent ſhall keep poſſeſſion of all the papers belonging to the ſaid company, and they ſhall not be liable to inſpection. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXVI.

The ſaid company ſhall be maintained in the property of the Ecarlatines and Caſtors, which they may have in the town of Montreal;

1760. Sept. Montreal; they ſhall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the neceſſary licences ſhall be given to the chief Agent, to ſend this year his caſtors to France, on board his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips, paying the freight on the ſame footing as the Britiſh would pay it. — 'GRANTED, with regard to what may belong to the 'company, or to private perſons; but, if his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty 'has any ſhare in it, that muſt become the property of the King.'

ARTICLE XXVII.

The free exerciſe of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman Religion, ſhall ſubſiſt intire, in ſuch manner that all the ſtates and the people of the towns and countries, places and diſtant poſts, ſhall continue to aſſemble in the churches, and to frequent the ſacraments as heretofore, without being moleſted in any manner, directly, or indirectly. Theſe people ſhall be obliged, by the Engliſh Government, to pay their Prieſts the tithes, and all the taxes they were uſed to pay under the Government of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. — 'GRANTED, as to the free exerciſe of their religion; the obliga-'tion of paying the tithes to the Prieſts will depend on the King's 'pleaſure.'

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Chapter, Prieſts, Curates, and Miſſionaries, ſhall continue, with an intire liberty, their exerciſe and functions of cures, in the pariſhes of the towns and countries. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXIX.

The Grand Vicars, named by the Chapter to adminiſter to the dioceſe during the vacancy of the Epiſcopal See, ſhall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country pariſhes, as they ſhall think proper. They ſhall at all times be free to viſit the different pariſhes of the

dioceſe with the ordinary ceremonies, and exerciſe all the juriſdiction they exerciſed under the French dominion. They ſhall enjoy the ſame rights in caſe of the death of the future Biſhop, of which mention will be made in the following article. — 'GRANTED, except what regards the following article.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXX.

If, by the treaty of peace, Canada ſhould remain in the power of his Britannic Majeſty, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall continue to name the Biſhop of the colony, who ſhall always be of the Roman communion, and under whoſe authority the people ſhall exerciſe the Roman Religion. — 'Refuſed.'

ARTICLE XXXI.

The Biſhop ſhall, in caſe of need, eſtabliſh new pariſhes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his epiſcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he ſhall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or pariſhes, as he ſhall judge proper. He ſhall be at liberty to viſit his dioceſe with the ordinary ceremonies, and exerciſe all the juriſdiction which his predeceſſor exerciſed under the French Dominion, ſave that an oath of fidelity, or a promiſe to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majeſty's ſervice, may be required of him.— 'This article is compriſed under the foregoing.'

ARTICLE XXXII.

The communities of Nuns ſhall be preſerved in their conſtitutions and privileges; they ſhall continue to obſerve their rules; they ſhall be exempted from lodging any military; and it ſhall be forbid to moleſt them in their religious exerciſes, or to enter their monaſteries: ſafe-guards ſhall even be given them, if they deſire them.— 'GRANTED.'

1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

The preceding article ſhall likewiſe be executed, with regard to the communities of Jeſuits and Recollects, and of the houſe of the Prieſts of St. Sulpice, at Montreal; theſe laſt, and the Jeſuits, ſhall preſerve their right to nominate to certain curacies and miſſions, as heretofore. — 'REFUSED, till the King's pleaſure be known.'

ARTICLE XXXIV.

All the communities, and all the Prieſts, ſhall preſerve their moveables, the property and revenues of the Seignories, and other eſtates which they poſſeſs in the colony, of what nature ſoever they be; and the ſame eſtates ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXXV.

If the Canons, Prieſts, Miſſionaries, the Prieſts of the ſeminary of the foreign miſſions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jeſuits and the Recollects, chuſe to go to France, a paſſage ſhall be granted them in his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips: and they ſhall have leave to ſell, in whole, or in part, the eſtates and moveables which they poſſeſs in the colonies, either to the French or to the Engliſh, without the leaſt hindrance or obſtacle from the Britiſh Government. — They may take with them, or ſend to France, the produce, of what nature ſoever it be, of the ſaid goods ſold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the XXVIth article. And ſuch of the ſaid Prieſts, who chuſe to go this year, ſhall be victualled, during the paſſage, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty; and they ſhall take with them their baggage. — 'They ſhall be maſters to diſpoſe of their 'eſtates, and to ſend the produce thereof, as well as their perſons, 'and all that belongs to them, to France.'

ARTICLE XXXVI.

1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majeſty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, Merchants, and other perſons, who chuſe to retire to France, ſhall have leave ſo to do from the Britiſh General, who ſhall procure them a paſſage: and, nevertheleſs, if, from this time to that deciſion, any French or Canadian Merchants, or other perſons, ſhall deſire to go to France, they ſhall likewiſe have leave from the Britiſh General. Both the one and the other ſhall take with them their families, ſervants, and baggage. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXXVII.

The Lords of Manors, the Military and Civil Officers, the Canadians as well in the towns, as in the country, the French ſettled, or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other perſons whatſoever, ſhall preſerve the intire peaceable property and poſſeſſion of the goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandizes, furs, and other effects, even their ſhips; they ſhall not be touched, nor the leaſt damage done to them, on any pretence whatever. They ſhall have liberty to keep, let, or ſell them, as well to the French as to the Britiſh; to take away the produce of them in bills of exchange, furs, ſpecie, or other returns, whenever they ſhall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in in the XXVIth article. They ſhall alſo have the furs which are in the poſts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal; and, for this purpoſe, they ſhall have leave to ſend, this year, or the next, canoes, fitted out, to fetch ſuch of the ſaid furs as ſhall have remained in thoſe poſts. — 'GRANTED, as in 'the XXVIth article.'

1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

All the people who have left Acadia, and who ſhall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada on the ſide of Acadia, ſhall have the ſame treatment as the Canadians, and ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges. — 'The King is to diſpoſe of his ancient Subjects: in the mean time, they ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges as the Canadians.'

ARTICLE XXXIX.

None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony, on the ſide of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimaquinac, and other places and poſts of the countries above, the married and unmarried ſoldiers, remaining in Canada, ſhall be carried or tranſported into the Britiſh colonies, or to Great Britain; and they ſhall not be troubled for having carried arms. — 'GRANTED, except with regard to the Acadians'

ARTICLE XL.

The ſavages, or Indian allies of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, ſhall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they chuſe to remain there, they ſhall not be moleſted on any pretence whatſoever, for having carried arms, and ſerved his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; they ſhall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and ſhall keep their Miſſionaries. The actual Vicars General, and the Biſhop, when the Epiſcopal See ſhall be filled, ſhall have leave to ſend to them new Miſſionaries, when they ſhall judge it neceſſary. — 'GRANTED, 'except the laſt article, which has been already refuſed.'

ARTICLE XLI.

The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what ſtate and condition ſoever, who ſhall remain in the colony, ſhall not be forced to

take arms againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occaſion whatſoever; the Britiſh Government ſhall only require of them an exact neutrality. — ' They become ſubjects of the King." 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XLII.

The French and Canadians ſhall continue to be governed accord- to the cuſtom of Paris, and the laws and uſages eſtabliſhed for this country; and they ſhall not be ſubject to any other impoſts than thoſe which were eſtabliſhed under the French dominions. — ' An- ' ſwered by the preceding articles, and particularly by the laſt.'

ARTICLE XLIII.

The papers of the Government ſhall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and ſhall go to France with him. Theſe papers ſhall not be examined on any pretence whatſoever. — ' GRANTED, with the reſerve already made.'

ARTICLE XLIV.

The papers of the intendancy of the Offices of Comptroller of the Marine, of the ancient and new Treaſurers, of the King's Magazines, of the Offices of the Revenues and Forges of St. Maurice, ſhall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the Intendant, and they ſhall be embarked for France in the ſame veſſel with him; theſe papers ſhall not be examined. — ' The ſame as in this article.'

ARTICLE XLV.

The regiſters, and other papers of the ſupreme Council of Quebec, of the *Prevôte* *, and Admiralty of the ſaid city; thoſe of

* The Court of a Provoſt-Martial, as Chief Magiſtrate of a city or town, who has the government thereof, reſpecting the inhabitants in their police, &c. nearly the ſame as a Mayor's Court with us.

the

1760. Sept. the Royal Juriſdictions of Trois Rivieres and of Montreal; thoſe of the Seignorial Juriſdictions † of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the Notaries of the towns and of the countries; and, in general, the acts, and other papers, that may ſerve to prove the eſtates and fortunes of the citizens, ſhall remain in the colony, in the the rolls of the juriſdictions on which theſe papers depend. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XLVI.

The inhabitants and Merchants ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the ſame favours and conditions granted to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, as well in the countries above, as in the interior of the colony. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XLVII.

The negroes and panis ‡ of both ſexes ſhall remain, in their quality of ſlaves, in the poſſeſſion of the French and Canadians to whom they belong; they ſhall be at liberty to keep them in their ſervice in the colony, or to ſell them; and they may alſo continue to bring them up in the Roman religion. — 'GRANTED, except thoſe 'who ſhall have been made priſoners.'

ARTICLE XLVIII.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the General and Staff Officers of the land-forces, the Governors and Staff-Officers of the different places of the colony, the Military and Civil Officers, and all other perſons who ſhall leave the colony, or who are already abſent, ſhall have leave to name and appoint Attornies to act for them, and in their

† As our Court-leets in England, &c.

‡ I believe this implies convicts, or malef actors condemned to ſlavery.

name,

name, in the adminiſtration of their effects, moveable, and immoveable, until the peace; and, if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominions, theſe Officers, or other perſons, or Attornies for them, ſhall have leave to ſell their manors, houſes, and other eſtates, their moveables and effects, &c. to carry away, or ſend to France, the produce thereof, either in bills of exchange, ſpecie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the XXXVIIth article. — 'GRANTED.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XLIX.

The inhabitants, and other perſons, who ſhall have ſuffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their repreſentations to the Britiſh Government, who ſhall render them due juſtice againſt the perſon to whom it ſhall belong.— 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE L, and LAST.

The preſent capitulation ſhall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide*, on both ſides, notwithſtanding any infraction, and any other pretence, with regard to the preceding capitulations, and without making uſe of repriſals. — 'GRANTED.'

POSTSCRIPT.

ARTICLE LI.

The Britiſh General ſhall engage, in caſe any Indians remain after the ſurrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns, and that they do not, in any manner, inſult the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. — 'Care ſhall be taken that the Indians 'do not inſult any of the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.'

ARTICLE LII.

1760. Sept.

ARTICLE LII.

The troops and other ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who are to go to France, ſhall be embarked, at lateſt, fifteen days after the ſigning of the preſent capitulation. — 'Anſwered by the XIth article.'

ARTICLE LIII.

The troops and other ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who are to go to France, ſhall remain lodged and incamped in the town of Montreal, and other poſts which they now occupy, till they ſhall be embarked for their departure: paſſports, however, ſhall be granted to thoſe who ſhall want them, for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE LIV.

All the Officers and ſoldiers of the troops in the ſervice of France, who are priſoners in New-England, and who were taken in Canada, ſhall be ſent back, as ſoon as poſſible, to France, where their ranſom or exchange ſhall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and, if any of theſe Officers have affairs in Canada, they ſhall have leave to come there. — 'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE LV.

As to the Officers of the militia, the militia, and the Acadians, who are priſoners in New-England, they ſhall be ſent back to their countries. — Done at Montreal, the 8th of September, 1760.

'VAUDREUIL.'

'GRANTED, except what regards the Acadians.' 'Done in the 'camp before Montreal, the 8th of September, 1760.

'JEFFERY AMHERST.'

I ſhall here ſubjo in an exact return of the ſtate of the French army in this country, comprehended in the foregoing capitulation. The

	Men	1760. Sept.
The ſecond battalion of La Reine, ſecond battalion of La Sarre, the ſecond battalion of Royal Rouſillon, Languedoc, Guyenne, and Bearn, with the ſecond and third battalions of Berry, and two de la Marine, or colony troops, of all which the total is - - -	4011	
The militia of Canada conſiſts of ſixty-four companies, in the Government of Quebec, amounting to -	7976	
Nineteen companies in the Government of Trois Rivieres -	1115	
Eighty-ſeven companies in the Government of Montreal -	7331	
Total effectives at the reduction of the colony - -	20,433	

Upon Colonel Haldiman's taking poſſeſſion of Montreal, he demanded the colours of the French regiments, as well as thoſe of ours, which had fallen into their hands in the courſe of the war: the former they refuſed, declaring, 'that, although each regiment 'had brought their colours with them from France, they found 'them troubleſome, — of little uſe in this woody country, and had 'therefore deſtroyed them *;' this anſwer being tranſmitted to the General at camp, his Excellency immediately inſiſted that the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Chevalier de Levis ſhould affirm it on their *parole d'honneur*, which they inſtantly complied with, and then reſtored two ſtands of Britiſh colours, that were taken from the late

* If we may rely on their word, this muſt be ſince the memorable 13th of September, upon the adverſe turn of their affairs; becauſe it is notorious they had their colours that day in the field; and, if the cloud of ſmoke after the general fire had vaniſhed half a minute ſooner, I would actually have poſſeſſed myſelf of one ſtand, for the Officer who carried them was wounded, and ill able to drag them off; they were a white ſilk flag, with three *fleurs de lys*, within a wreath or circlet, in the center part, and two taſſels at the ſpear-end, all of gold.

1760. Sept. regiments of Pepperel and Shirley, at Oſwego *, in the infancy of the war.

I have already obſerved, that, on the 5th of Auguſt laſt, at Oſwego camp, Sir William Johnſon had thirteen hundred and thirty Indians under his command, and that they were reduced, by deſertion at the embarkation of the forces, to ſeven hundred and ſix; the reader has alſo ſeen that twenty whale-boats of theſe very uncertain friends had quitted the army immediately after the reduction of l'Iſle Royale, becauſe they were not permitted, as heretofore, when in alliance with our Moſt Chriſtian enemies, to drench their hands in the blood of the French garriſon: the Commander in Chief having perſevered in reſtraining them, wherever we advanced, from plundering and butchery, they were ſo diſguſted at his humane conduct, that their numbers now on this iſland are farther diminiſhed to one hundred and eighty-two; and his Excellency, being charmed with the fidelity and good behaviour of this remnant, not only preſented them reſpectively with a curious ſilver medal, but has tranſmitted orders to all our forts and poſts, that they may have port-entrance, and be treated with ſuch farther marks of friendſhip as are due to their ſervices.

The critical and happy junction of our three armies at this place, effected in the ſpace of forty-eight hours, with ſo inconſiderable a loſs, muſt appear extremely providential to the reader, when he reflects on the immenſe difficulties they had every-where to encounter, from a numerous and wary enemy, ſtill infinitely heightened by the ſingular nature of the country, and the dangers of an uncommon navigation, the moſt formidable and hazardous that can poſſibly be conceived: ſuch an inſtance can ſcarcely be paralleled in any hiſtory, and will remain an everlaſting monument of the conduct and intrepidity of the General, and other Officers, who commanded on this particularly intricate ſervice.

* The other two ſtands, if I am rightly informed, were hanging in the cathedral church of Quebec, when it was deſtroyed, during the firſt ſiege.

Having

Having now deduced the French war in America to a glorious period, reflecting the higheſt honour on his Majeſty's arms; and extended the Britiſh empire in the new world: a final review of the moſt remarkable events that happened there, ſince the commencement of this work, cannot fail to be acceptable to every reader. 1760. Sept.

In the year 1757 we were ſaid to be Maſters of the province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, which, however, was only an imaginary poſſeſſion; it is true, we had a ſettlement in Chebucto harbour, namely, Halifax; a garriſon at Annapolis Royal, one at Chiquecto, called Fort Cumberland; and three other inſignificant ſtockaded intrenchments, Fort Sackville, Lunenburgh, and Fort Edward, all in the ſouthern peninſula; but the troops and inhabitants of thoſe ſeveral places could not be reputed in any other light than as priſoners, the French being poſſeſſed of the north and north-eaſt, with all the interior parts of it, conſiderably above three fourths of the whole; together with its iſlands, of which the principal are Cape Breton and St. John. The condition of our provinces, weſt and ſouth of Acadia, was truly alarming, the enemy having drawn a line from Cape Canſeau, on the eaſt ſide of the peninſula, oppoſite to Cape Breton, a-croſs the bay of Fundi, to the river Penobſcot in the province of Main, through New-Hampſhire, New-England, and along the frontiers of Albany, through New-York and Pennſilvania, excluding alſo the greateſt part of Virginia, by the Allegany mountains, down through the Carolina's and Georgia, as far ſouth as Cape Eſcondide, in the gulph of Mexico, claiming all the countries, lake, and rivers, north and weſt of this line: which immenſe extent of territory they ſecured by a chain of forts, thereby depriving us of the greateſt part of our moſt valuable ſettlements, and the benefit of the fur-trade with our Indian allies on the Lakes Champlain, Erie, and Ontario. Moreover, by frequent *ſorties* and excurſions from theſe numerous poſts, which they could reinforce at pleaſure, they continually ſtruck terror into the unfortunate inhabitants of thoſe countries, by ſcalping and otherwiſe barbarouſly butchering

1760. Sept. our people of both ſexes, of all ages; and dragging ſome, whoſe lives they choſe to ſpare, into a horrible captivity. Such was the unbounded power of France in the new world, and ſuch the ſtate of Britiſh America in the year 1757.

A reſpectable armament, under the Earl of Loudon and Admiral Holborne, was ſent out this year, to reduce the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, hoping thereby to curb the unparalleled inſolence of theſe reſtleſs, and, I may add, faithleſs invaders; thoſe iſles, by their ſituation in the gulph of St. Lawrence, being deemed barriers to Canada, and the keys of the eaſtern navigation into the bowels of their country; at the ſame time General Webb was left at Albany to aſſemble a body of provincial troops to cover Fort William-Henry on Lake George, garriſoned by a body of regulars under Colonel Monroe. How the expedition to the eaſtward miſcarried, and what befel the brave but unfortunate Colonel and his abandoned forces, would, I am of opinion, be unacceptable in the recital, eſpecially as theſe events are ſtill recent in all mens' remembrance: ſuffice it to ſay, the one did not take place, and the other was wreſted from us and demoliſhed, its garriſon, after a gallant defence, being obliged to capitulate; and fell afterwards a prey, by the connivance of the French, contrary to that good faith which ſhould ſubſiſt between Chriſtian nations, to the fury of a mercileſs ſavage enemy, and this in the preſence of the Marquis de Montcalm and his whole army. The enemy, farther encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, continued their depredations, ſpreading terror throughout our back ſettlements, and threatening deſtruction to our fortreſſes in Nova Scotia, which they flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to effect by ſurpriſe, with ſtrong detachments from Louiſbourg; but, by the diſpoſition made of the forces by the Earl of Loudon, their intentions were defeated: his Lordſhip having reinforced the garriſons at Halifax, Annapolis, Fort Cumberland, &c. aſſigning the command of the troops in that province to Major-General Hopſon, while he, with the remainder of the army, proceeded to the ſouthward, to ſtop the enemy's career in that quarter.

In

In the year 1758 our affairs aſſumed a better aſpect; for, though the army led by General Abercromby, then Commander in Chief, towards Crown-Point, were roughly handled in ſtorming the lines at Ticonderoga, with very conſiderable loſs, yet the ſucceſs of the armament againſt Cape Breton, under Admiral Boſcawen and Major-General Amherſt, and the happy conſequences thereof, in a great meaſure, compenſated for that fatal blow, and paved the way to our future conqueſts. 1760. Sept.

After the reduction of this important iſland, with that of St. John, the General detached Brigadier Monckton up the bay of Fundi, and Brigadier Wolfe up the River St. Lawrence, to the bays of Chaleurs and Gaſpèe, who reſpectively executed their orders in ſo maſterly a manner, that the Britiſh forts and ſettlements in the province of Acadia were completely ſecured againſt any attempts from the enemy, the Indians of thoſe countries, and the other barbarous inhabitants, being routed from almoſt every corner, with the loſs of many lives, houſes, and effects, *the juſt puniſhment of all traitors*; beſides, numbers of them, who fell into our hands, were tranſmitted, in captivity, to Europe: in theſe expeditions Brigadier Monckton re-eſtabliſhed a fortreſs on the north ſide of Fundi Bay, at the entrance of the River St. John; dignified it with the name of Frederic, and reinforced all the garriſons throughout the province, wherein he himſelf commanded the following winter. General Abercromby, after his undeſerved diſcomfit at Ticonderoga, took poſt at Lake George, with the remainder of his army, to cover the frontiers of New-York, Albany, and New-England: thence he detached a corps of three thouſand men to Lake Ontario, where he reduced Fort Frontenac, the object of the enterpriſe; and deſtroyed an immenſe quantity of ſtores, proviſions, and artillery, which proved a ſevere ſtroke to the enemy on that ſide, as there was their grand magazine, whence the numerous chain of forts they had eſtabliſhed to defend their incroachments were to have been ſupplied. The Colonel made many priſoners, took nine armed veſſels, from eight to

eighteen

1760. Sept. eighteen guns, being the whole of their naval force on the lake, with a prodigious collection of furs, to an incredible amount; and this ſervice was executed without any loſs. Another fortunate circumſtance derived, in a great meaſure, from the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe, was, that it facilitated the conqueſt of Fort du Quêne, now Pittſburgh, by which we recovered an extenſive tract of fertile country, on the River Ohio; which expedition was admirably conducted, amidſt innumerable difficulties, in this ſame year, by Brigadier-General Forbes; ſo that, upon the whole, we gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy, in the courſe of this campaign.

In 1759 we were ſtill more proſperous: General Amherſt was now (happy for his country and the honour of the Britiſh arms) Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's troops and forces in America; his Excellency proceeded, with the greateſt part of the army, by Lake George, and, upon his arrival before the once fatal lines of Ticonderoga, he wiſely erected batteries, drew up his artillery, and beſieged them in form: the enemy, perceiving the old inconſiderate farce was no longer to be acted, of attempting to ſurmount impoſſibilities by a mere *coup de mouſqueterie*, abandoned their trenches and contiguous fort; and, ſhortly after, the fortreſs of Fort Frederic, or Crown-Point, in like manner. The General alſo detached ſome troops, under Brigadier Prideaux and Sir William Johnſon, to Oſwego, thence to Niagara, which was preſently reduced, after an action with a reſpectable corps of the enemy, who advanced in full expectations of relieving the place, but were defeated by Sir William, the Brigadier being unfortunately killed by an accident in the trenches ſome time before. Theſe ſeveral ſtrong-holds being thus ſubdued, the Commander in Chief ordered them to be repaired, and others to be erected, more effectually to ſecure the countries bordering on the lakes, for the ſafety of our Indian allies inhabiting thereon, and to protect our frontiers. Upon the General's receipt of the news reſpecting the death of Brigadier Prideaux, Brigadier Gage was diſpatched to take the command of thoſe troops, with

orders to proceed, after the reduction of Niagara, and diſpoſſeſs the enemy of another important poſt they had on the weſt ſide of Cataraqui river, to the northward of Frontenac and Ontario, called La Galette; but the ſeaſon being far advanced, and many other concurrent difficulties intervening, rendered it impoſſible that time; ſo that the project was poſtponed to a more favourable opportunity. Another corps was detached to the weſtward, under Brigadier Stanwix to overawe the numerous tribes of Indians inhabiting the borders of the Ohio, to complete the fortifications of Pittſburgh and Fort Ligonier, likewiſe to reduce the fortreſſes of Venango and Preſqu'iſle, in order to add greater weight to our influence on the Lake Erie, in all which we ſucceeded to our wiſhes; but the moſt important conqueſt, in the courſe of this campaign, was that of Quebec, and a great part of lower Canada: an armament was ſent up the River St. Lawrence for this purpoſe, and to cooperate with the Commander in Chief in the reduction of the colony, under Admiral Saunders and Major-General Wolfe, wherein the Admirals and General Officers greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves; the French army, under the Marquis de Montcalm, being amuſed by Mr. Wolfe, and lulled into a ſtate of ſecurity, were, by the ſole diſcerning judgment of that eminent young General, allured from their ſtrong retrenched camp, and defeated; the able Commanders of the land-forces were ſlain on both ſides, and the loſs of the enemy was conſiderable; ours trifling, in compariſon, all things conſidered, except in the death of our amiable and juſtly lamented General. In conſequence of this perfect defeat, the capital of New France ſurrendered to Brigadier-General Townſhend on very advantageous terms, General Monckton, his Superior on that expedition, being then ill of a dangerous wound he received in the action. The winter ſetting in early preventing General Amherſt's advancing farther into the upper country, he therefore contented himſelf with ſecuring his new acquiſitions, garriſoned them with part of his army, and the remainder were quartered in ſuch manner, as to be able, not

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1760. Sept. not only to ſuccour them in caſe of neceſſity, but to be earlier in readineſs, by the next year, to penetrate effectually into the heart of the colony, and thereby complete the conqueſt of Canada. The forces under Brigadier-General Monckton, now in a fair way of recovery, remained in garriſon at Quebec, under the command of Brigadier Murray, as Governor, and Colonel Burton, as Lieutenant-Governor; Admiral Saunders, having furniſhed the place with artillery, ammunition, and ſtores of all kinds, with every other neceſſary that could be required, a twelvemonth's proviſions, with a conſiderable quantity of ſpirituous liquors, vinegar, &c. &c. ſailed with his fleet for Europe, to receive the thanks of his Sovereign, and acknowledgments of his country, for his ſteady and ſpirited conduct, throughout the whole progreſs of this expedition. The troops had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the garriſon, than they were menaced by M. de Levis, who publicly declared his intentions of making a vigorous effort for the recovery of Quebec, as ſoon as the moſt ſevere part of the winter ſhould ſet in. I ſhall not treſpaſs on the reader by recapitulating all the *petites guerres* that happened in the courſe of this, or the preceding winter and ſummer campaigns; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that, though in ſome, and theſe in times paſt, we were worſted, yet, in general, we were ſucceſsful, particularly in Canada Proper, where they always redounded to the honour of his Majeſty's arms; but, paſſing theſe by, I ſhall enter immediately on 1760, a year remarkable in the annals of Great Britain, not only for the conſtancy and proweſs of her troops, but the conſpicuous abilities, and faithful conduct, of their ſeveral Commanders, together with the total extirpation of the French dominions in North America.

After a winter's campaign, the moſt irkſome and rigorous that can poſſibly be conceived, the Chevalier de Levis, with the whole force of the colony, took the field, and, in the latter end of April, appeared before Quebec, to put his long premeditated threats in execution, flattering himſelf with an eaſy conqueſt, eſpecially as he

he was well acquainted with the ſufferings of the garriſon, and their weakly condition by ſickneſs and mortality, having buried a thouſand men ſince they took poſſeſſion of the place, and had double that number ſtill in the hoſpitals; but, notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, and the great ſuperiority of the Chevalier's army, as to numbers, he found himſelf groſſly miſtaken. Brigadier General Murray, in a great meaſure, ſurpriſed him by marching out with the gallant remains of his hitherto victorious forces, who, to uſe his Excellency's ſignificant and agreeable expreſſions on this occaſion, *were in the habit of beating that enemy*, and gave them battle: the conteſt was obſtinate, and well maintained on both ſides; but the Britiſh troops, now more conſiderably reduced, were compelled to retire within their walls. The enemy however reaped no ſort of advantage from our diſcomfiture, which, on their part, was dearly purchaſed: on the contrary, they were then in a worſe condition than ever, for their loſs fell moſtly on their regulars; and, after beſieging us for near three weeks, in which time the garriſon were inconceivably harraſſed, and performed prodigies, ſuch as poſterity will hardly give credit to, for the defence of their conqueſt, the enemy raiſed the ſiege, upon the arrival of a Britiſh ſquadron, under Commodore Swanton, with the moſt unaccountable precipitation; leaving all their artillery, implements, ſtores, proviſions, &c. behind them: but they had firſt the mortification of being eye-witneſſes to the deſtruction of their fleet, which were all burned and deſtroyed by our ſhips. 1760. Sept.

After the Governor had indulged his troops with a few weeks' refreſhment, he embarked the flower of his garriſon, who were ſoon after reinforced by two regiments from Louiſbourg, the fortifications of that famous city being ordered to be demoliſhed; and ſailed up the river to join General Amherſt's army, upon their arrival at Montreal. In this inland voyage, the Brigadier made frequent deſcents on the north and ſouth coaſts, diſarmed a number of pariſhes on both ſides, diſperſed manifeſtoes throughout

1760. Sept. throughout the country, and compelled the greateſt part of the inhabitants to ſubmit, ſwearing them to an exact neutrality. In the execution of all theſe affairs, his Excellency paid the moſt ſtedfaſt attention to the preſervation of the conqueſt already made, and, ſenſible of its importance at that juncture, he wiſely declined, though contrary to his own natural diſpoſition, and thirſt for glory, to engage in any meaſures that could poſſibly put the ſucceſs of the campaign to the leaſt hazard; and, by this invariable conduct, he apparently defeated the hopes of the French Generals, who not only attended him as his ſhips advanced, but lay *perdue* for him at different places, with the principal force of the country.

Upon the arrival of this armament at the iſland of Tereſa, near to that of Montreal, the Brigadier landed, and incamped his troops there to await the movements of the Commander in Chief; the firſt intelligence of moment, his Excellency then received, was the advance of a corps under Brigadier Haviland, who had been detached from the main army towards Crown-Point, thence to penetrate by the Lake Champlain, and the river Sorrel, with orders to rendezvous, in like manner, at or near Montreal. This ſervice was alſo extremely well executed, for the enemy, having perceived by the precautions of that Commander, and the uniform ſteady conduct in all his proceedings, that any reſiſtance would be intirely fruitleſs, *fell back*, as he advanced: boaſting at the ſame time of a reſolution they had taken to make a firm ſtand at the Iſle au Noix; which, however, upon the nearer approach of theſe forces, was abandoned, and the enemy continued to retire before the Brigadier, until he reached the meadows oppoſite to the city of Montreal. The army under General Amherſt was early in motion, but the completing a numerous chain of forts, building ſloops, gallies, rafts, and other floats for this particular navigation; providing an incredible number of batteaus and whale-boats for tranſporting ſo great a force, with all its proviſions, artillery, ſtores of every kind, and intrenching-tools, &c. &c. retarded his Excellency's

operations

operations ſo long, that it was the 10th of Auguſt before the firſt diviſion embarked at Oſwego, and the remainder followed the next day, under Brigadier Gage. It is a matter of much greater difficulty, than can poſſibly be conceived, to convey ſo conſiderable an army through the lakes and rivers of this uncommon country: ſuch an undertaking required exquiſite judgment, great deliberation, and the moſt exact order, to prevent, if poſſible, the various accidents to which a fleet of this nature were expoſed, in traverſing the vaſt expanſe of Ontario, beſides a number of dangerous rapids between that inland ſea and the iſland of Montreal; which, notwithſtanding the utmoſt circumſpection to prevent it, proved fatal to many men, upwards of fourſcore of them being drowned, and ſeveral boats, with artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, ſtaved to pieces. The General met with ſome oppoſition and farther delay at l'Iſle Royale, the laſt effort of expiring Canada: but this, with all other difficulties, were nobly ſurmounted by the activity and valour of the troops, and the incomparable conduct of their Leaders; it muſt be univerſally confeſſed there never was an expedition ſo admirably concerted, or executed in ſo maſterly a manner, and with ſo inconſiderable a loſs. How well pleaſed the General was at the manner in which he was ſeconded by the other principal Officers, and at the behaviour of the three armies, are beſt expreſſed in his own words: — 'I ſhould not do juſtice to Governor Murray 'and Colonel Haviland, if I did not aſſure you they have executed 'the orders I gave them, to the utmoſt of my wiſhes. I muſt 'likewiſe beg leave to ſay I am obliged to Brigadier General Gage 'for the aſſiſtance he has given me; and I have taken the liberty 'to give, in public orders, my aſſurances to the three armies, that 'I would take the firſt opportunity of acquainting the King with 'the zeal and bravery which has always been exerted by the Officers 'and ſoldiers of the regular and provincial troops, as alſo by his 'Majeſty's faithful Indian allies. Sir William Johnſon has taken 'unwearied pains in keeping the Indians in humane bounds; and 'I have

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1760. Sept. 'I have the pleaſure to aſſure you, that not a peaſant, woman, 'or child, has been hurt by them, or a houſe burned, ſince I entered 'what was the enemy's country.' In a letter from Lord Colville, then Admiral and Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's fleets and ſhips in North-America, to the King's Secretary of State, is this paragraph by no means foreign to my purpoſe:—'The joint 'requeſt of Generals Amherſt and Murray, concurring with my 'own inclinations to ſerve Captain Deane, of the Diana, has 'induced me to ſend him to wait on you with this letter. He 'commanded all the veſſels employed on the expedition from 'Quebec to Montreal, and, from his own abilities, has ſurmounted 'the difficulties of an *unknown*, *intricate*, and *dangerous* navigation. 'To ſum up his merit in one ſentence, he has approved himſelf 'a moſt deſerving Officer, &c. &c. &c.'

Upon the whole, the mild, yet determined, method of negociating with the Marquis de Vaudreuil does great honour to General Amherſt, while his moderation and humanity, which have ſo conſpicuouſly appeared in the whole courſe of his command in America, and now more ſuperlatively to a conquered ungenerous enemy, not only reflects the greateſt reproach on them for paſt cruelties, and repeated breaches of faith, which have at length provoked the Almighty to confound all their devices, councils, and meaſures, and finally to deliver themſelves and their country into our hands; but likewiſe, adds a tenfold luſtre to the General's conqueſt, denominating him the *hero* and the *chriſtian*; whilſt it demonſtrates to the whole world the juſtice of our cauſe, and the authenticity of what was ſo ſenſibly advanced by the immortal Wolfe in his firſt manifeſto:—'The unparalleled barbarities 'exerted by the French againſt our ſettlements in America might 'juſtify the bittereſt revenge in the army under my command:— 'But Britons breathe higher ſentiments of humanity, and liſten 'to the merciful dictates of *the Chriſtian religion*.'

On

On the 14th of this month I had an opportunity of viewing the interior parts of Montreal; and, for delightfulneſs of ſituation, I think I never ſaw any town to equal it; beſides the advantages of a leſs rigorous climate, it is infinitely preferable to Quebec. It ſtands on the ſide of a hill ſloping down to the river with the ſouth country, and many gentlemens' ſeats thereon, together with the iſland of St. Helen, all in front: which form a moſt agreeable landſcape, the river here being about three miles a-croſs, I mean from the ſouth ſide of Montreal to the ſouth coaſt. Though the town is not of a conſiderable breadth from north to ſouth, it covers a great length of ground from eaſt to weſt, and is nearly as large and populous as Quebec; the ſtreets are regular, the houſes well conſtructed, and particularly the public buildings, far exceeding thoſe of the capital of Canada in beauty and commodiouſneſs: that of the Knights Hoſpitallers being extremely magnificent. — There are ſeveral pleaſant gardens within the walls, in which however the owners have conſulted profit and convenience more than elegance; among theſe are the ſiſters of the congregations, the nunnery-hoſpital, Recollects, Jeſuits, ſeminary, and a ſixth, which, if I am not miſtaken, is the property of the Governor; beſides theſe, there are many other gardens and beautiful plantations without the gates, ſuch as the general hoſpital, and the improvements of M. Liniere, which exceed all the reſt, and are at an agreeable diſtance, on the north ſide of the town. I have been informed that the fathers of the order of St. Sulpicius, at Paris, were proprietors of the iſland, which they held by grant or charter from the crown, and produced them a conſiderable revenue. I ſaw no paintings, or any thing remarkably curious, in their churches, or other religious houſes; every thing carried an air of neatneſs, ſimplicity, and plainneſs; how they may be on feſtival days I cannot take upon me to ſay. 1760. Sept.

There

1760. Sept. There are ſix or ſeven gates, large and ſmall, to this famous place, but its fortifications are mean and inconſiderable; it is ſurrounded by a ſlight wall of maſonry, ſolely calculated to awe the numerous tribes of Indians, who reſort here at all times from the moſt diſtant parts, for the ſake of traffic; particularly at the Fair, a kind of carnival held every year, and continues near three months, from the beginning of June till the latter end of Auguſt; I have heard various accounts of this fair from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal, and the trade carried on with theſe barbarians; but they are ſo confuſed, contradictory, and, withal, ſo marvellouſly romantic, that I ſhall paſs them by in ſilence, my reſidence in the country, after the conqueſt, not affording me an opportunity of being an eye-witneſs to thoſe ſcenes. There are no batteries on the walls except for flank-fires, and the moſt of theſe are blinded with planks and loop-holes made at the embraſures for muſketry; I ſaw ſix or ſeven guns only that were mounted, from four to nine-pounders; and theſe in a wretched condition, being more for form than for any real ſervice: ſome writers and travellers have repreſented theſe walls to be four feet in thickneſs, but they are miſtaken, becauſe I was at the trouble to examine and meaſure them in different places: they are built of ſtone, the parapet of the curtains does not exceed twenty inches, and the merlins at the flank-fires are ſomewhat thicker, though not near three feet; hence it is evident they were never deſigned but as a ſecurity againſt arrows or ſmall arms. A dry ditch ſurrounds this incloſure about ſeven feet in depth, encompaſſed with a regular *glacis*.

On the inſide of the town is a *cavalier* on an artificial eminence, with a parapet of logs or ſquared timbers, and ſix or eight old worm-eaten guns, ſome of which are not mounted: this is called the Citadel or Royal Battery. Such were the fortifications of Montreal, the ſecond place of conſequence in the colony, until the enemy raiſed the ſiege of Quebec; and then, in expectation that our forces would ſoon follow them, they threw up a battery, with two

faces

faces for nine guns, but they had only four twelve-pounders mounted, two pointing to the navigation of the river, and the others to the road leading from Long Point to the town, with a traverſe or or lodgement for muſketry elevated on the inſide of the battery for the defence thereof, together with ſome picket-works, forming a barrier to the gate or entrance to the place, with loop-holes for their markſmen; and theſe, with two advanced redoubts, are all the temporary works that were made for the defence of Montreal. The inhabitants are gay and ſprightly, much more attached to dreſs and finery than thoſe of Quebec, between whom there ſeems to be an emulation in this reſpect; and, from the number of ſilk robes, laced coats, and powdered heads of both ſexes, and almoſt of all ages, that are perambulating the ſtreets from morning to night, a ſtranger would be induced to believe Montreal is intirely inhabited by people of independent and plentiful fortunes. 1760. Sept.

Having obtained General Amherſt's permiſſion to return to Europe for the re-eſtabliſhment of my health, and Governor Murray's indulgence to repair to Quebec, in order to ſettle ſome affairs preparatory to my departure from America, I ſet out, on the evening of the 15th, in a batteau, attended by a Serjeant and ſix men, and provided with a quantity of ſugar, ſalt, tobacco, and pork, to inable me to traffic with the Canadians, in my paſſage, for poultry, pigs, &c. againſt my intended voyage: knowing, at the ſame time, that it would afford me an opportunity of ſeeing ſome parts of the country, between Montreal and the capital, whereof my knowledge, until then, could be only ſuperficial, by ſeeing it from on board our ſhips, by conjectures formed from thoſe places where I had been obliged to land with the troops, or from the country immediately in the neighbourhood of Quebec. As I was my own Commander, not preſſed in point of time, and had not any thing to apprehend from either ſhore, the colony being now reſtored to peace and tranquillity, I was more at leiſure to make ſuch obſervations, reſpecting this

1760. Sept. this valuable conqueſt, as I can with certainty communicate to the public, and which the reader may depend on.

I cannot take upon me to determine either the extent or boundaries of Canada, or the ſource of the river St. Lawrence which runs through it; the former are variouſly fixed by French Hiſtorians and Geographers, while the latter is pretended to be derived from remote northern and north-weſtern lakes, as yet unknown to Europeans: theſe chimerical abſurdities ſeem to be now adopted by Britiſh Writers, and conſequently it is not improbable they will be thus tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity; however, leaving theſe matters to more competent judges, and that I may not exceed the limits preſcribed to myſelf, I ſhall confine my narrative of this country from Lake Ontario *, the moſt natural ſource of this truly majeſtic river, to its gulph or entrance at Cape Raye on the iſland of Newfoundland, and to the lands and ſettlements immediately in view of this navigation, which I look upon to be the moſt intereſting parts of this colony: the extenſive foreſts backward of them being, to this day, chiefly in their rude primitive ſtate, uninhabited and unfrequented, except by the ſavage Aborigines, and other Chaſſeurs, or Hunters, whoſe accounts are generally extravagant and erroneous. The entrance is formed by Cape Raye, beforementioned, on the north-eaſt and north Cape; on the iſland of Cape Breton on the ſouth-weſt, which is about one hundred leagues from Quebec †; thence to les Trois Rivieres, reputed the half-way to Montreal, thirty-three; and, from Montreal to the north-eaſt point of Lake Ontario, it is alſo by computation near ſeventy leagues: but there is another entrance into this river from the ſea, which is north about, through the ſtraits of Belle Iſle ‡; this, however, being

* This lake lies in north latitude, between 41 and 43; weſt longitude 79.

† Which is about the center of the province, latitude 46 and 53; weſt longitude 79.

‡ An iſland of no great extent, on the eaſtern coaſt of New-Britain, which gives name to theſe ſtraits, and ſeparates the north part of Newfoundland from the continent; it is ſituated in weſt longitude 58; latitude 52.

very

very unſafe, is ſeldom frequented, except when heretofore French ſhips, or perhaps veſſels carrying on a contraband trade with the enemy, wanted to avoid our men of war, or frigates, cruiſing in the gulph. 1760. Sept.

The iſlands in this long extent of river are almoſt innumerable, and many of them are inhabited and well-cultivated, particularly the Iſles of Coudre and Orleans, below Quebec; thoſe of Ignatius, Tereſa, Montreal, and Jeſus, with ſome of leſſer note in that diſtrict, and ſeveral others to the ſouth-weſt of them in the Lake St. Francis, of which St. Peter's is the principal; but, Montreal and Orleans being the moſt conſiderable, it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of them. The former is near forty miles in length, and about thirteen, or four leagues and an half, in breadth, where wideſt: the ſoil is exceedingly rich and good, producing all kinds of European grain, and vegetables in great abundance, with variety of common garden fruits; but the ſouth ſide of it is the moſt inhabited, conſequently the beſt cultivated; and, beſides the ſettlements or pariſhes which are numerous, the iſland is adorned with private villa's for the retirement of the more opulent Merchants, and others, in the ſummer ſeaſon. There are no Indian inhabitants on Montreal, neither are they any where deſirous of ſettling on iſlands, which, I am informed, proceeds from an hereditary diſtruſt, leſt they ſhould at any time be ſurpriſed and cut off by Europeans.

By the ſituation of this ſecond place of conſequence in Canada, they are exceedingly well ſupplied with all kinds of freſh-water fiſh, ſome of which are unknown to us, being, I am told, peculiar to the lakes and rivers of this country; they have likewiſe neat black cattle, horſes, pigs, and poultry in plenty; and, from the neighbouring ſhores, they are ſupplied with the greateſt variety of game imaginable, in the different ſeaſons; nor are the inhabitants beholden to the main river for their water, the iſland abounding with delightful ſoft ſprings, which form a multiplicity of pleaſant rivulets.—I have already ſaid ſo much of that fertile and beautiful garden, the iſland of Orleans, in the courſe of

1760. Sept. of this work, that it only remains to be told, beſides five pariſhes into which it is divided, there are ſeveral Gentlemens' ſeats; and yet its extent does not exceed twenty-one miles, by near four, where it is broadeſt. The navigation of the river has been alſo treated of; but it may be proper to add, that, though King's ſhips, who have been once up to Quebec, may venture there a ſecond time without Pilots, their remarks being generally more accurate than thoſe of trading veſſels, yet ſtrangers ſhould, by no means, venture of themſelves upon hearſay, or the reports of others; and, with reſpect to the upper parts, from the capital to Montreal, it is true there is water enough for ſhips not drawing more than eleven feet, yet the navigation is both difficult and perplexing, the channel running ſometimes by the north, at others by the ſouth coaſts; and, in tacking from one ſhore to the other, obſtructions are frequently met with, ſuch as rocks, and ſhoals of ſand or mud, which, if the Canadians may be credited, (and it is not improbable) are frequently removed from one part of the river to another, by the immenſe floats of ice that roll up and down with the currents, at the breaking up of the winters. To this I ſhall ſubjoin, that, as theſe currents are remarkably rapid in moſt places, all ſhips and veſſels, intended for this voyage, ſhould be extremely well provided with good and ſufficient ground-tackle, and have it always in readineſs, whether ſailing in company or otherwiſe. There are no cataracts between Quebec and Montreal, as ſome writers have advanced, except a ſtrong ripple at what are called the Rapids of Richlieu, between Jacques Cartier and Chambaud; but theſe are not of the leaſt conſequence, for, at high water, though the channel runs ſerpentine, yet there is a ſufficient depth for a forty-gun ſhip.

It is true, there are frequent interruptions in the navigation from Montreal upwards, particularly between that iſland and Lake St. Francis; but the others, between the lake and l'Iſle Royale, are more frightful than dangerous. Sloops, or barges of equal burden, cannot work higher up than Montreal, neither can they come farther

down

down from Lake Ontario than to l'Iſle Royale; but the intermedial difficulties may be ſurmounted by flat-bottomed boats, canoes, or other ſmall veſſels. There are great variety of ſafe and commodious bays and harbours in this river, after clearing the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; of which the principal are Chaleur, Gaſpée, Tadouſac, Chaudiere, and a great many others needleſs to be recited; but the haven of Quebec exceeds all the reſt, where a hundred ſhips of the line may ride in the greateſt ſafety. Upon the whole, this is a moſt valuable river, and, when you are a little way advanced within the gulph, you are no longer clouded with thoſe fogs ſo endemial to the coaſts of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Newfoundland, but what are uſually met with at certain ſeaſons in more moderate climates. 1760. Sept.

The lower part of the country, from the entrance, is generally wild, uncultivated, and, on the ſouth ſide, covered with dark impenetrable woods, moſtly pine and dwarf ſpruce, with ſtupendous rocks and barren mountains, which form a moſt diſmal proſpect; while the north, for ſeveral leagues, is low, marſhy, covered with ſtrong reeds and ruſhy graſs, cloſe foreſts appearing at ſome diſtance to the northward of them. The firſt ſettlement you meet with, after clearing the frontiers of Nova Scotia, is at St. Barnaby, on the ſouth ſhore, about thirty leagues within the gulph, where we were regaled with a proſpect of an open, ſeemingly fertile and civiliſed country; and, upon reviewing my obſervations and minutes of the numerous pariſhes from thence upwards, till you arrive at the ſettlements oppoſite to Montreal, I find them, in general, rich, open, and well cultivated, producing corn, flax, and vegetables; ſtocked with horned cattle, ſheep, horſes, ſwine, and poultry; exceedingly well watered by innumerable tributary rivers, rivulets, and ſmaller brooks, which diſembogue themſelves into the river St. Lawrence, and are plentifully ſtored with ſalmon, eels, and other fiſh, peculiar to theſe waters. The north country does not make ſo promiſing an appearance, there being no improvements or ſettlements until you reach

1760. Sept. reach what are called the King's Farms at Mal Bay, near the River Saguenny, and haven of Tadouſac: there the lands have undergone cultivation, the ſoil is kind, and grateful for the labour and induſtry beſtowed upon it; but the country, eaſt and north-eaſt of theſe farms, remains in its primitive ſtate, *rudis indigeſtaque moles*, with lofty and ſteep banks to the river: the lands on the ſouth ſide alſo riſe gradually high and ſteep, after you clear the woody iſland of Anticoſti, with trees and under-wood on the face of the declivities; and continue ſo, for the moſt part, on both coaſts, all the way upwards. From Mal Bay to Cape Tourmente, an extent not leſs than thirty miles, is mountainous and barren; but then, doubling this cape, you are agreeably ſurpriſed with a pleaſant ſettlement, called St. Paul's; the country there, and from that pariſh upwards, being, in general, clear, fertile, and well improved, in like manner as the lands on the ſouth coaſt, and interſected by a multiplicity of rivers and ſtreams, whoſe waters are ſwallowed up by the River St. Lawrence. I am of opinion the ſouth country deſerves the preference, for the goodneſs of its ſoil; but neither the one coaſt, or the other, are uniformly fruitful, there being ſome exceptionable tracts on both ſides, which muſt be the caſe in a territory of ſo conſiderable an extent: and, in many pariſhes, one meets with coppices and ſmall parcels of foreſt, perhaps deſignedly left by the inhabitants for fuel, ſhelter, and various other neceſſary purpoſes. The lands on the coaſts, from Montreal to Lake St. Francis, are capable of great improvements: at preſent much cannot be ſaid for them, being very woody, with a cold, ſpungy ſoil; but, from this lake to that of Ontario, north and ſouth, the ground is much better, producing variety of excellent timber for ſhip-uſe, with good graſs, and little or no under-wood. The numerous iſlands you meet with are, in general, well cultivated and rich, particularly the iſland of Jeſus above Montreal, St. Peter's, &c. &c. being inhabited by Canadians, who are in the government and dioceſe of Quebec, as are likewiſe part of the lands north and ſouth, interſperſed, how-

ever, with many tribes of Indians, who are bad farmers, huſbandry being intirely out of their ſphere; the French have no ſettlements farther weſt than the Cedars, about half-way between Ontario and Lake St. Francis; the country round the former, and on the principal rivers flowing into it, being inhabited by the Aborigines, moſtly Iroquois, whoſe chief employment, when they are not at war, is hunting and fiſhing. 1760. Sept.

It is computed there are above a hundred thouſand ſouls in this colony, and, whether that number is confined to Canada Proper, which, according to a modern Britiſh writer, does not exceed five hundred miles in length, from N. E. to S. W. and two hundred miles in breadth, I cannot determine; but I preſume the different tribes of Indians, who reſide in this immenſe tract of country, are all included. From the iſland of Coudre, below Quebec, to that of Montreal, the country on both ſides of the river is ſo well ſettled, and cloſely inhabited, as to reſemble almoſt one continual village; the habitations appear extremely neat, with ſaſhed windows, and, in general, waſhed on the outſides with lime, as are likewiſe their churches, which are all conſtructed upon one uniform plan, and have an agreeable effect on the traveller or paſſenger; but, upon entering their houſes, you are ſtrangely diſappointed, being quite emblematical of the painted ſepulchres we read of in Holy Writ; for the peaſantry, as well as the lower trade's-people, mechanics, &c. here, as in France, are intolerably dirty, as well as deceitful, ridiculouſly fantaſtic, and very ignorant: theſe peculiarities may be likewiſe, with great aptneſs, aſcribed to many others in ſuperior ſtations; but, in enumerating the properties of the bulk of the people of any particular country, perſons liberally educated, who are poſſeſſed of plentiful fortunes, and endowed with generous polite ſentiments, ſhould, nevertheleſs, be exempted from theſe and all national reproaches. The women are not handſome nor fair, but ſprightly and agreeable, and ſo complaiſant to Britain's brave ſons, that, vanity a-part, it may be hoped the next generation will, in

1760. Sept. in all reſpects, be conſiderably improved; and, with regard to the complexions of the Ladies of Canada, like thoſe of their mother-country, all defects of nature are ſupplied, as much as poſſible, by art. The winter climate, for above ſix months, is exceedingly cold, four of which are truly rigorous; but, when once it ſets in ſevere, and the pores of the body are braced up, a perſon does not much regard it afterwards; for you have generally a ſerene atmoſphere, except when a ſnow-ſtorm ſets in, and that ſeldom continues above twenty-four hours, during which time it is inceſſant *.

The ſummers are generally pleaſant, except for two months, when it is exceedingly hot, in July and Auguſt, with violent thunder-ſtorms; but yet ſo prolific is this ſeaſon, that the farmer expects to reap the fruits of his labour, within four months after the ſeed is put into the ground †; and the forwardneſs of vegetation in their gardens is really ſurpriſing. Great quantities of tobacco are planted in this colony, which is generally uſed by the poorer and meaner ſort of people; but, from their not knowing how to cure or manufacture it properly, it is wretched inſipid ſtuff, which they twiſt up

* The ſtoves that are uſed in this country are incomparably well adapted to the climate, and contribute, in a great meaſure, to ſoften the rigour of that long-frozen ſeaſon; theſe, with all other utenſils and materials of caſt-iron, are made at a foundery contiguous to the Trois Rivieres. I think theſe inventions would be exceedingly uſeful, if fixed up in the halls of the old manſion-ſeats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain, as the heat may be conveyed by pipes to the moſt remote apartments, which would not only preſerve theſe buildings, with their furniture, from decay, but prevent thoſe fatal accidents that frequently happen by fires, in the abſence of the family, by the careleſſneſs of ſervants. They ſtand upon a ſquare frame of the ſame metal, about ſix or eight inches from the ground; and, if it is a boarded floor, the place where it is to be fixed ſhould be firſt covered with leaves of ſheet-iron; as ſhould likewiſe the edges of the holes in wooden partitions, where the pipes are conveyed from one room to another; which renders every thing perfectly ſafe.

† If we will extend our inquiries into the ſtate of the ſummer climate in other northern countries, we ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at this remarkable circumſtance; for, in ſome parts of Norway, barley is ſown and reaped in the ſhort ſpace of ſix weeks, or two months at fartheſt.

into

into ropes, like hay, near two inches round, and afterwards make it into rolls of an immoderate ſize; I taſted it once for curioſity, and thought it had no better flavour than common weeds, or cabbage-leaves dried: but, I preſume, it will not be thought adviſable to encourage the Canadians in the culture of this plant, leſt it ſhould, in proceſs of time, become prejudicial to our own natural colonies, thoſe of Virginia and Maryland in particular. 1760. Sept.

There are various kinds of timber to be met with in this country, ſuch as red and white oak, black and white birch, fir, and pine-trees of different ſpecies, maple, alder, cedar, bitter cherry, aſh, cheſnut, beech, hazel, black and white thorn, apple, pear, plum-trees, and an infinity of other non-deſcripts; beſides a great choice of ſhrubs, particularly the capillaire, which grows not unlike fern, and has no main ſtalk, but ſhoots up its leaves from the root, and its ſeeds grow in tufts on the back of the foliage, in like manner as fern; they have great plenty of it in the woods, and, I am informed, the inhabitants uſually prepared great quantities of its ſyrup, which they ſold to the Merchants at Quebec, who exported it annually to France.

Canada does not, at preſent *, produce ſufficient corn for its own conſumption †, which may, in a great meaſure, be attributed to the want of people to cultivate the ground, the natives having been, for the moſt part, employed, theſe fifteen years (even in times of profound peace between the two Crowns) in a military way, incroaching on their neighbours, to aggrandiſe and extend their dominions, to the great neglect of the true intereſts of their country: and ſuch as could be ſpared from that ſervice were uſually engaged in the fiſheries on the coaſts of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, La-

* This implies the year 1760.

† Beſides cargoes of wheat and flour annually imported from Europe, they boaſt of having been well ſupplied with this neceſſary article from the fertile iſland of St. John, in the gulph; whence it has hitherto been denominated the Granary of Quebec: the Merchants thereof giving European commodities in exchange. The ſoil of that iſland is remarkably rich, and its inhabitants were numerous.

brador,

1760. Sept. brador, &c. as the principal part of their diet conſiſts in the article of fiſh. For the future, it is to be hoped, every obſtacle being removed, and the grand ſyſtem of their politics intirely changed, due attention will be paid to agriculture and trade, both by the Canadians themſelves, and their new Maſters, who are ever ready to grant all reaſonable indulgences to an induſtrious and deſerving people. In a word, the improvement of tillage ſhould be the chief object, the lands in general being eaſy, kind, capable of producing all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life in great abundance; and the climate, notwithſtanding its northerly ſituation, contributing thereto, to the intire gratification of its hardy and healthy inhabitants, who live to an extreme old-age.

The multifarious kinds of fiſh, wherewith the lakes and rivers abound, have been already mentioned, which, if the reader has forgot, he will find between the dates of the 16th and 20th of January laſt; beſides theſe, and innumerable other benefits, they have variety of all ſorts of game, bipeds as well as quadrupeds, in the greateſt plenty; and finer poultry, with tame and wild pigeons, no other country can boaſt of: moreover, the Canadians have an excellent breed of black cattle, ſheep, pigs, and horſes, with which the farms in general are plenteouſly ſtocked. In fine, — this province, though moſtly an inland country, has, by means of the River St. Lawrence, the advantages of an extenſive ſea-coaſt, thereby affording as well a commodious exportation of its own produce *, as a reaſonable importation of foreign commodities, and an eaſy conveyance from one part to another, even to the moſt remote corners of the colony. To conclude, Canada is a fruitful, pleaſant, moſt valuable territory, and its warlike inhabitants, together with the national troops of France, were juſtly ſenſible thereof, and of its great importance, having, from firſt to laſt, perſevered, though deſerted and deſtitute as they have been, in exerting the utmoſt activity, vigilance,

* Furs, ſkins, maſts, yards, ſhip-timber in general, lumber, &c. &c.

and

and bravery in its defence; furthermore, the acquiſition of this immenſe tract of country completely ſecures to us the peaceable poſſeſſion of Nova Scotia, together with the quiet enjoyment of the frontiers of all our numerous colonies to the ſouthward; bleſſings, which I ſincerely hope the Britiſh Americans, who have more or leſs woefully experienced a long reverſe of fortune, will ever moſt gratefully and dutifully acknowledge to Divine Providence and their benign mother-country, their protector and moſt generous deliverer, to lateſt poſterity. 1760. Sept.

Before I ſailed from Quebec for Europe, we had not received the leaſt intimation of the melancholy incidents that ſucceeded the departure of Colonel Montgomery, and his forces, from the country of the Cherokees, and, particularly, the fate of the unfortunate garriſon of Fort Loudon: as I cannot advance any thing new upon this diſagreeable ſubject, but what is univerſally known, every Briton having already heard, with a generous indignation, the horrid tale, I flatter myſelf, though they even did occur in the courſe of the preſent year, I ſhall be excuſed putting a tragical concluſion to the Britiſh campaigns of 1759 and 1760.

The various other occurrences wherewith America preſented us in the continuance of the war, particularly the ſenſible and effectual chaſtiſement of thoſe ſouthern barbarians by Colonel Grant and Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny, in the year 1761, with the happy conſequences thereof; the ſeizing of St. John's, in Newfoundland, by a French armament, under Colonel Count de Hauſſonville with M. de Ternay; and, finally, the glorious ſucceſs of our arms under Colonel Amherſt, aſſiſted by a fleet under Lord Colville, in the recovery of that fortreſs, and the re-eſtabliſhment of our power in that iſland; are events that I ſhould take the higheſt pleaſure in recording: but they would conſiderably exceed the limits preſcribed to this work; moreover, they did not happen until the ſummer of 1762, when I was employed upon ſervice in a different part of the world.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 8, line 3, of the note, for *iſland of Finian*, read *iſland of Tinian*.
—— 18, line 12, and firſt word, for *on*, read *of*.
—— 23, line 5, for *Toulon*, read *Foulon*.
—— 42, line 4, for *inacceſſible*, read *acceſſible*.
—— 42, read *make* between the lines 17 and 18.
—— 59, line 1, for *laids* read *leads*.
—— 64, line 1, for *direct*, read *directions*, and ibid. dele *into*.
—— 72, line 13, in the Parentheſis, dele *St*.
—— 90, and 8th French article of the capitulation of Quebec, read *qu'il eu ſera uſé*, &c.
—— 100, laſt line, for *poſt-guards*, read *port-guards*.
—— 104, line 22, for *envoyant*, read *envoyent*, ibid. and line 29, for *entendons*, read *attendons*.
—— 117, line 10, for *bendent*, read *rendent*.
—— ibid. line 25, for *tres troupes*, read *les troupes*.
—— 124, line 12, for *their ſerve*, read *the reſerve*.
—— 129, line 21, for *as*, read *when*.
—— 136, line 3, for *ſeduce*, read *induce*.
—— 149, laſt line of the French inſcription, after *celui*, read *qui m'aura*, &c.
—— 157, line 2, for *pleurs*, read *pluſieurs*, ibid. line 8, for *celle*, read *cette*, ibid. line 10, for *maigré* read *malgré*.
—— 168, line 18, after *removed*, read *to the*, &c.
—— 188, line 6 of ſtanding orders, for *front*, read *froſt*.
—— 213, line 13, before — '*A report*,' ſhould be an aſteriſk, referring to the note below.
—— 216, line 9, for *commune*, read *comme*.
—— 219, in the allowance of fire-wood, under the column of — '*how many days*', read *fourteen*.
—— 257, line 2, for *town*, read *tour*.

*** The Author hopes his Diſtance from Town, where this Work was printed, will be an Excuſe for all Errors of the Preſs, &c. &c.

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